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ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ

PLUTARCHUS,

AND

THEOPHRASTUS,

ON

SUPERSTITION;

WITH

VARIOUS APPENDICES,

AND

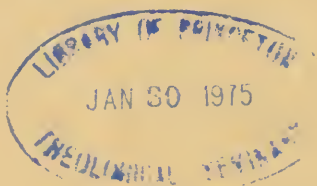
A LIFE OF PLUTARCHUS.

Printed

A. D.

1828

Price, one Guinea.



PREFACE.

ABOUT the 5th. of March last year, I published a reprint of the text of the Orphica. In the preface to that "Typographical Experiment" I said (p. vi & vii): "I am preparing an edition¹ of Plutarch's treatise on Superstition, in Greek and English, which will serve to occupy my compositor, 'till I can ascertain from the sale of the present volume, whether it is worth my while to continue printing." This I said, writing on the 9th. Jan. 1827.

The fate of my "Experiment" was soon decided. Very few booksellers condescended to let a copy of the unfortunate production remain in their shops on sale or return. Some said, they did not deal in *Greek* books; some that they did not deal in *new* books; and one even said, that the book was *too thin* and might be lost.

When I received this disastrous information I would willingly have renounced printing altogether; but two or three half-sheets of the Plutarchus were already worked off; nay, supposing that a book with an English translation might be more sought after than a work entirely Greek, I had been guilty of the folly of having each time 300 copies taken, and all too on fine paper.

But I had still a hope. I had sent copies of the Orphica to two or three of the Newspapers and to most of the principal Reviews. But more than a year has elapsed; and no Newspaper or Review has in the slightest degree condescended to take no-

¹ I know not how this word escaped me. I ought to have said "a reprint."

-tice of the book.² My vanity was at first much offended at this silence. Now, however, that I reflect upon the matter more calmly, I am seriously persuaded, that the various daily, hebdomadal, monthly, and quarterly editors were silent principally out of mercy; as being, on the one hand, unwilling to blame a poor devil who did his best, and as being, on the other hand, unable to praise a most imperfect and faulty publication.

Before "the treatise of Plutarchus" was finished, it was evident that my Experiment had proved an abortion. What then was to be done? I was unwilling to part so soon with my compositor; yet, on the other hand, I did not wish to begin another volume. I therefore determined to enlarge the present one, *thô* with extraneous matter. My work has every appearance of being hastily compiled. But I do not apologize for it. If the "*nonum prematur in annum*" had been applied to my Appendices, they would each of them have swollen to double their already excessive length.

As Greek scholars have (with extremely few exceptions) not thought it worth their while even to thank me for my trouble, and as no person whatsoever has recommended me to make any further "Experiment," I have, of course, only so far improved my Greek type as I had promised to do. But I have been obliged to purchase a great deal of English type. On first turning printer, I had vowed I would buy no other than Greek, because I was afraid I might be tempted to print heterodoxy. When, therefore, in the greater part of the Orphica, I wanted a few words in Latin, I sent to London on purpose to borrow them; (and the whole of my preface was printed there). This was a very troublesome plan, two or three hours being sometimes lost for a single word. But perhaps I ought to have observed my anti-anglo-typographical vow;—not indeed for any reason of heterodoxy (for this volume is, doubtless, rather ultra-orthodox than otherwise)—but, if I had confined myself to a Greek type, I should not have printed some tame and meagre (*thô* yet perhaps incorrect) translations, nor some Appendices yet more demonstrative of ignorance.

However, what is printed, is printed; and I must give as an excuse for having besmearcd so much excellent paper, that hereby I have (at any rate partially) attained my avowed object. The *non*-success of my "Experiment" being fully demonstrated

² The only place in which I have seen the title in print, is in Mr. Cuthell's catalogue.

(as per margin)³, my compositor⁴ must now find work elsewhere.

As to my Greek type, it must, after a short incarceration, go (what is ultimately) *the way of all type*. The same must be the

³ The following is my account with the literary world.

Cost of reprinting ^{the text of the} ^{Hymns of} Orphic^{us}, independent of all primary expenditure.

For composing 14 & a half half-sheets, at 25shllngs.	£18	2	6
For the press work, 15 times at 2s. 6d. each	1	17	6
For paper, 260 copies of 8 sheets each (2080 sheets = 4 & 1-3rd. Reams) at 36sh. a Ream .	7	16	0
For Cold Pressing		6	6
For Boarding 258 copies at 6d. each	6	9	0
	£34	11	6

Receipts down to the 5th. April, 1828.

12 copies paid for by Mr. B. at 2s. 6d.	£1	10	0
6 do. paid for by Messrs. Tr. & W.	15	0	
1 do. sent for by a gentleman at Hampstead . . .	3	6	
3 do. forced upon H. Esq. at 3s. 6d. each .	10	6	
2 do. J. B. Esq. at 3s. 6d. each	7	0	
1 do. N. G. Esq.	3	6	
25 copies	£3	9	6

remains unpaid £31 2 0

I must however most gratefully acknowledge the receipt of a book from a profound philosopher, of another book from a learned divine, and of some fac-similes from one of our greatest surgeons.

Account of Copies.

25 as above

20 now out at various Booksellers'.

5 sent, by order of Act of Parliament, to [a
Cutler's] No. 261, Regent Street.

about 12 given away to various Reviews, &c.

about 46 given away to various individuals.

258—108=150, now on hand.

⁴ Before this half sheet could be finished, he suddenly obtained a most advantageous employment. Another compositor therefore terminates this Preface, together with some inordinately-copious Addenda. The door of my printing-room must then be closed. I earnestly solicit the prayers of the faithful, that I may never again be guilty of the horrible crime of scribbling.

immediate destination of the brevier roman, which seems compiled from various founts, and bears an invincible antipathy to a straight line. It was the first modern type I ever bought, and sadly was I cheated in the purchase of it. But I left that type-founder; and bought some bourgeois, and also some small pica, of Caslon, whose type is well known to be the best in England. Albeit, I have still no italic for the small pica; and no accented letters for the roman brevier. My reader must have mercy upon my poverty, if in the greater part of this volume I have been forced to various typographical shifts, such as putting an inverted 5 for a ç. &c. &c.

The only advice which any one has yet condescended to give me, with regard to my manner of printing Greek, is, that I ought not to have omitted the *breathings*. And I confess, indeed, that I begin to think I have been in the wrong. At any rate I am ashamed of the trifling reason I gave for their non-insertion in the reprint of the *Orphica* (Preface, p. iv). In my present work the reader will perceive, that the greek quotations of my third appendix have the *aspirate*. I do not see any use in the *lene*: it only creates confusion.

That the *aspirate* was pronounced by the Greeks is fully shewn by αφ for αφο, θ for το, &c. &c. Servius (ad *Æneid.* 2; vid. Fabr., B. Gr., vol. 1, p. 147) says, either that the aspirate, or that the aspirated letters, were invented by Palamedes. And certainly the aspirate is very ancient. It has occasionally been sculptured as an Η; and may also in some cases have replaced the Digamma. I can scarcely believe what is said in Dr. Valpy's grammar that "the old Dialects of Greece admitted few or no aspirates." I should have thought, that the more ancient a language was, the more it would have abounded in gutturals.

I wish, that, at the end of Greek grammars, there was a list of all the aspirated roots. The student would then read ordinary Greek type with less hesitation about false prints. Nor would he find any great difficulty in reading an *apneumatic*, or *spiritless*, type. His principal hesitation would be at the word ογ, and occasionally at η, ον, εν, εξ, εις, ην, οιος, and ορος; as also at some words rare in one or both senses, as αιμιος, αιινος, αηλογς, αττα, αρμοι, εις, εον, οηη, οcca, ωδε, ωρα, ωcan.

Sometimes there is no diversity of either *accent* or *breathing* in words, literally identical, but of very different derivation or meaning: as 'αλια, 'αλτω, εις, 'εως, ηκα, ιον, οζεα, ογλον, ογλος, ογρον, ογρος, and ωτος; so that the use of those vaunted additaments is not perhaps so great as at first

may be imagined. Moreover in some words the breathing seems to be unknown, or variable, or indifferent: as in ἀεργύνα, ἀμαξα, ἀρπικ, ἀγῶ & ἀγᾶινω, ἀψικ, ἐδνα & ἐεδνα, εἰλλω, εἰलगῶ & εἰγῶ, εἰλω, ἐνός *vetus*, ἐρχη, ἐγῶ, ἡδός, ἡλιβατός, and ἱλλός.

But I will say no more upon this subject, which is entirely above my faculties. I have no doubt it is fully investigated in a host of dissertations, which are in every body's hands, but which I cannot afford to purchase. The *res angusta domi* has obliged me to vow to buy no more books. Nearly a year ago I purchased Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Græca*, a very cheap and most learned and useful compilation; but there I stop.

It is probably fortunate that my experiment has not succeeded, as I should have been at a loss what work next to fix upon.

I am partial to *Nonnus's Dionysiaca*; but this work is of prodigious length, and moreover has not yet been sufficiently well *edited*, for me to know how to *reprint it*.

A good Dictionary of early Grecian philosophers might be formed by arranging *Diogenes Laertius* in an alphabetical order, and correcting his errors and filling up his omissions by quotations from other authors; but this would be a voluminous publication, for which I have neither the intellect, nor the health, nor the library, nor the patience.

I have thought of printing extracts from *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But the Fathers of the Church are shockingly out of fashion: a papist refers to them only for transubstantiation, grace, original sin, and so forth; while a protestant is afraid of them, and (except in determining the canon of the N. T.) impiously affects to despise them. When will these writings be considered, like others, to be useful—positively, as records of wisdom,—negatively, as records of folly?

I consider no book so amusing as *the Old Testament*, or (as I have heard it called) “the compendium of ancient Hebrew Literature.” I know indeed little more of Hebrew than the letters, and those only without the points; but, as this language has all the simplicity which it would retain among an unsocial people, I can manage, with the aid of a translation, to understand most of the words. If I ever printed any Hebrew, I would put all the proper names in capital letters, as I have done in the Greek. I would also divide both prose and verse into short lines, confident that the system of direct or indirect parallelism is so congenial

to the language of the Hebrews, that it is often difficult to distinguish their prose from their verse. But my philosophical friends would laugh at my spending time about ancient treatises, which have been infinitely better printed by many a calculating hypocrite and officious zealot. Unhappy is the lot of the Hebrew sages—to be condemned to the admiration of folly; while common sense, which, if free, might applaud, disdains, in its captivity, to do otherwise than ridicule.

I know not what I shall do with the present volume. When in better health than usual, I *determine* to lock up the whole edition; when rather ailing, I *determine* to give away a few copies to particular friends; when, finally, I consider that I have only a few months or days to live, I then *determine* to offer the whole edition for sale. At all events, the price marked on the book shall not be humble. I was decidedly wrong with regard to my reprint of the Orphica: for what few purchasers there were, would probably as soon have paid seven shillings, as three and sixpence; and then again, in giving a copy away, the larger the sum marked, the greater present it seems. “Price one Guinea” therefore ornaments the title-page of this volume; and any *one* silly personage, who will give this sum, will put more money into my pocket, than *three* more sensible men, who would only honour me with the cost price of between six and seven shillings.

I terminate this my Preface by consigning all “Greek Scholars” to the special care of Beelzebul.

If the reader wish for a graphical representation of Superstition, there are two engravings, in *van Dale's* "de Oraculis" (p. 1, & 308), which seem to express almost every species of sacerdotal knavery. These excite a smile; but the frontispiece of *Schedius* "de Diis Germanis" fills one with horror. Nothing can be more disgusting than the solemn hypocrisy of the priest and the brutal indifference of the priestess; while the headless bodies, around them, attest the power of cruel impostors, and the misery of a deluded people.



A LIFE OF PLUTARCHUS.

THE two following Testimonia concerning Plutarchus are placed before his Life by Nylander in the editions of Plutarch's works of 1620, and 1624.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΥΙΔΑ . [a]

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΩΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ
ΤΡΑΪΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ , ΚΑΙ ΕΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ . ΜΕΤΑΔΟΥΣ
ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΡΑΪΑΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ , ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕ ΜΗ-
-ΔΕΝΑ , ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΑΛΥΡΙΔΑ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ , ΠΑΡΕΞ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΓΝΩΜΗΣ ΤΙ ΔΙΑΠΡΑΤΤΕΣΘΑΙ . ΕΓΡΑΨΕ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΛΑ . [b]

ΕΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ

ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ . [c]

ΣΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΝΕΝΤΑ ΤΥΠΟΝ ΣΤΗΣΑΝΤΟ , ΧΕΡΩΝΕΥ
ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΕ , ΚΡΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΥΙΕΕΣ ΑΥΣΟΝΙΩΝ ,
ΟΤΤΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΙΣΙ ΒΙΟΙΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΣ
ΡΩΜΗΣ ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΙΣ ΗΡΜΟΣΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΕΤΑΙΣ .
ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΟΥ ΒΙΟΤΟΙΟ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΑΛΛΟΝ
ΟΥΔΕ ΣΥ Γ ΑΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΙΣ : ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΜΟΙΟΝ ΕΧΕΙΣ . [d]

[a] The lexicographer Suidas, (who is carried back to the first century by Giraldus, and is brought down to the fourteenth century by Hieronymus Wolfius,) probably flourished about the end of the ninth century; and this is all that is known about him. Wytttenbach in his Preface p. lxi. says: " Suidas locum de Plutarcho non ipse auctor scripsit, sed ex antiquiore descripsit."

[b] Eudocia [about A. D. 1065] quoting this passage, adds, at the end, ὥν τα πλείω οὐχ εὐρίσκεται .

[c] Agathias was a poet, historian, and lawyer. He flourished under Justinianus, about A. D. 555.

[d] Of this epigram there exist no less than five Latin translations, three of which were written by Henri Estienne.

A LIFE OF PLUTARCHUS.

THE following is an abridgment of the Life of Plutarchus, which was compiled by Joannes Rualdus,¹ and is inserted in the Paris Edition² of Plutarch's works by Antoine Estienne in 1624.

Cap. I, & II.

PLUTARCHUS says of himself in many parts of his works³ that he was born at Chæronea in Bœotia.⁴ The epithet Chæroneus, or Chæronensis, distinguishes our Plutarchus, from many other persons of the same name, viz: 1st. a Christian Bishop of Byzantium; 2ndly. an Alexandrian who suffered martyrdom for Christianity; and 3rdly. an Athenian Phi-

¹ I do not know who Rualdus was. ^(sed vid. infr. p. 33) He has dedicated his work to the abbé Jacques du Perron, the same man, I suppose, who was made a Cardinal in 1604. Wytttenbach very justly says, that there appears, in Rualdus's Life of Plutarch, "*multa loquacitas et alienarum à propositâ quæstione rerum jactatio.*" (Præfat. p. cxxii.)

² Fol. The Bibliotheca Britannica seems to say that Plutarch's Life by Rualdus was published [separately] in 4to, the same year. I cannot resist the temptation of here adding Wytttenbach's admirable remarks concerning the first pages of this Paris edition of Plutarch's works. "In - - titulo exstat imago Plutarchi, scilicet! chalcographico picturæ artificio expressa; inficetum negotium et ploranti monacho simillimum. Sequitur imago Ludovici XIII, equo insidentis et hostes in pugna sternentis. Tum verò etiam Dedicatio, *Francorum et Navaræorum Regi Christianissimo Ludovico XIII, Justo, Invictissimo, semper Augusto: plena mendacissimæ adulationis.*" (Præfat. p. cxx.)

³ In vit. Syll. p. 462, D; Cimon. p. 479, A; ρωμαϊκ. p. 257, D; περί της ρωμαίων τύχ. p. 318, D; & περί πολυπραγμοσύνης, p. 515, C.

⁴ In that part of Bœotia, which is on the confines of Phocis: for Stephanus says: χαίρωνεια, πόλις πρὸς τοὺς ὄρους φωκίδος.

-losopher, son of Nestorius, who flourished about the time of the first Emperor Constantinus.⁵

Chæronea was in old time called ἈΡΝΗ, as Pausanias, followed by Stephanus of Byzantium, says:

“ΕΚΑΛΕΙΤΟ ΔΕ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ἈΡΝΗ ΤΟ ἈΡΧΑΙΟΝ.”

Under this name it is mentioned in Homer's Catalogue of Ships:⁶

“ΟΙΤΕ ΠΟΛΥΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΝ ἈΡΝΗΝ ΕΧΟΝ —”

and in Lycophron's Cassandra (v. 644):

“ἈΡΝΗΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΑΣ ΓΕΝΝΑ, ΤΕΜΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΡΟΜΟΙ.”

Alluding to the city's change of name, Plutarchus himself says:⁷

“Ὡς ΠΕΡ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ, ΠΡΟΣ ΖΕΦΥΡΟΝ ΑΝΕΜΟΝ ΚΕΚΛΙΜΕΝΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΛΙΟΝ ΕΡΕΙΔΟΝΤΑ ΔΕΙΛΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΝΑССΟΥ ΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΗΝ, ΕΠΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΑΣ ΤΡΑΠΗΝΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΩΝΟΣ.”

Chæronea was but a very small city in Plutarch's time⁸:

“ΗΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΜΙΚΡΑΝ ΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΙΝΑ ΜΗ ΜΙΚΡΟΤΕΡΑ ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΧΩΡΟΥΝΤΕΣ —.”

Even in the time of Lucullus, nearly 200 years before the time of Plutarchus, the city was very much reduced⁹:

⁵ Brucker (Hist. Phil., Vol. 2, p. 183.) says: “Duodecim Plutarchos cum enumerent viri docti, noster ab aliis accurate distinguendus, et imprimis cum Plutarcho Nestorii - - - confundendus non est.”

⁶ Iliad, β. v. 507.

⁷ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΥΠΡΑΓΜΟΣΥΝΗΣ, in init.

⁸ ΒΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΛ. p. 846, E. [i. e. in vit. Demosth.]

⁹ in vit. Cimon. p. 479, A.

“ ΑΤΕ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΟΤΕ ΛΥΠΡΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΥΣΗΣ ,
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΜΙΚΡΟΤΗΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΝΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΟΡΩΜΕΝΗΣ — . ”

Marcus Antonius forced the Chæronenses to serve as porters; and caused them to be flogged when they were dilatory with their burdens; as Plutarchus relates in his life of that commander.¹⁰

Cap. III.

The Bœotians were generally considered as a stupid people. Thus Cicero says¹:

“ Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici: crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes. ”

Similarly Dionysius Halicarnessensis says²:

“ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΤΟΡΟΣ , ΑΛΛΟΣ , ΣΟΦΟΣ : ΙΩΝ ΑΒΡΟΣ , ΑΝΕΙΜΕ-
-ΝΟΣ : ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ ΕΥΘΗΣ : ΘΕΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΔΙΠΛΟΥΣ , ΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ . ”

and Lucianus introduces³ Momus as saying [to Hercules]:

“ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΙΡΗΚΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΝΩΣ ΒΟΙΩΤΙΟΝ . ”

Plutarchus himself acknowledges that this failing was attributed to his compatriots, when⁴ he speaks of Hercules as —

“ ΝΕΟΣ ΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΜΙΔΗ ΒΟΙΩΤΙΟΣ . ”

and when again he says⁵:

“ ΤΟΥΣ ΒΟΙΩΤΟΥΣ ΗΜΑΣ ΟΙ ΑΤΤΙΚΟΙ , ΚΑΙ ΠΑΧΕΙΣ , ΚΑΙ ΑΝ-
-ΔΙΣΘΗΤΟΥΣ , ΚΑΙ ΗΛΙΘΙΟΥΣ , ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΑΔΗΦΑΓΙΑΣ , ΠΡΟΣ-
-ΗΓΟΡΕΥΟΝ , ΟΥΤΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΥ ΣΥΣΪ . ”

¹⁰ ΒΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΛ. p. 948. A.

¹ in libr. “ de Fato. ”

² In syntagm. ΠΕΡΙ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΕΖΕΤΑΣΕΩΣ .

³ [In his admirable “ Jupiter Tragœdus. ” ch. 32.]

⁴ In libr. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ, p. 337. D.

⁵ In orat. ΠΕΡΙ ΣΑΡΚΟΦΑΓΙΑΣ, p. 995. E.

He remarks, however, that this reproach was already wearing away, when expressing his fear ⁶ —

“ΑΝΕΓΕΙΡΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΜΙΣΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΟΝΕΙ-
-ΔΟΣ ΗΔΗ ΜΑΡΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ.”

But the talents of Epaminondas and Pindarus had already shewn :

“ Summos posse viros, et magna exempla daturos
Verecun in patria, crasso que sub æere nasci.”

as Juvenalis ⁷ says, when speaking of Democritus, a native of Abdera, in Thrace, a calumniated city, in a similarly calumniated country.

Cap. IV.

The year in which Plutarchus was born cannot be exactly ascertained.

Origines ⁸ mentions him among the

“ ΤΟΙΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΙΣ , ΚΑΙ ΧΘΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΗΝ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΟΙΣ . ”

And Origines was born A. D. 191, according to the anonymous author of the *Fasti Siculi*; and flourished A. D. 230, according to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius.

Photius, ⁹ as also Paulus Diaconus, mentions Plutarchus *ἐν τῷ Νερωνοῦ*.

The anonymous writer, above mentioned, says, at the 13th. year of Nero, when Capito and Rufus were consuls :

“ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ

⁶ In libr. περὶ τοῦ σωκράτους δαιμονίου, p. 575, E.

⁷ Sat. X, v. 49.

⁸ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΕΛΣΟΥ, B. 5. [p. 268. edit. Spencer.]

⁹ Myriobibl. Cod. 245. in fine.

ΜΕΓΑΣ ΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΙΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ; ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ ,
ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ , ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΙ ΕΓΝΩΡΙΖΟΝΤΟ .”

Eusebius, in one part of his Chronicle, places Mu-
-sonius and Plutarchus in the 14th. year of Nero ;
but, in another part of his Chronicle, at the 3rd. year
of the 224th. Olympiad, or A. D. 120, he says :

“ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕΥΣ , ΣΕΞΤΟΣ , ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΒΟΥ-
-ΛΟΣ , ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΙ ΕΓΝΩΡΙΖΟΝΤΟ .”

So also Suidas says of Plutarchus :

“ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ , ΚΑΙ
ΕΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ .”

All the information that can be derived from these
contradictory data, is, that Plutarchus was proba-
-bly born about the middle of the reign of Claudius.¹⁰
He could not have been born much later: because,
when Nero (probably about the 11th. year of his
reign) was at Delphi, Plutarchus was already stu-
-dying under Ammonius.² Again, he could not have
been born much earlier; because he lived (probably
many years) under the reign of Trajanus.³

¹⁰ Who reigned from the 24th. of Jan. A. D. 41 to the 13th.
of Oct. A. D. 54.

¹ A. D. 66.

² vid. libr. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΕΝ ΔΕΛΦ. p. 385, B.

³ Who reigned from the 27th. of July A. D. 98, to Aug.
A. D. 117.

THE following Table ⁴ will present the reader with a synoptic view of some of Plutarch's contemporaries.

PLUTARCHUS

born about A. D. ⁵ 50 died about A. D. 120 ⁶

Quintus Asconius Pedianus

aged 85 died under Nero

Aulus Persius

about A. D. 34 28 A. D. 62

Annæus Cornutus

banished by Nero

M. Annæus Lucanus

about A. D. 39 26 A. D. 65

Lucius Annæus Seneca

bn. betw. A. D. 1 & 6. A. D. 68

Flavius Josephus

about A. D. 37 56 A. D. 93

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus

about A. D. 42 80 about A. D. 122

Caius Valerius Flaccus

aged about 30 about A. D. 93, or 94

Marcus Valerius Martialis

about A. D. 29 75 about A. D. 104

Caius Plinius Secundus (*Maj.*)

born A. D. 23 56 A. D. 79

Apollonius T'yanæus

aged nearly 100

died about A. D. 97

Caius Cornelius Tacitus

A. D. 54 or 55

ab. 80

about A. D. 134 or 135

Caius Suetonius Tranquillus

b'n. betw. 64 & 79

died after the year 121

C. Cæcilius Plinius Secundus (*Jun.*)

A. D. 62

51

A. D. 113

L. Annæus Julius Florus

flourished under Trajan and Adrian

Lucianus

about A. D. 90

90

A. D. 180

⁴ In Rualdus there is no Table or dates, but the names are mentioned in this order, and are divided into three classes, viz: those persons whom Plutarchus may have seen, 1st. in his youth, 2ndly. in his maturity, and 3rdly. in his old age. I have omitted Probus Berytius, and Papinius Surculus, of whom I know nothing. Observe, that there is a great uncertainty in many of the dates which I have given. I find from the *Biographie Universelle*, that Lucianus is supposed, by Reitz, to have lived from A. D. 120 to A. D. 200.

⁵ One of the most grievous false prints, in that incorrect work the *Dictionnaire Historique Universel*, is the fixing this birth at "48 ou 50 avant J. C."

⁶ According to Brucker, Saxius, Chalmers, and the *Bibliotheca Britannica*. But Ladvoat, the *Dictionnaire Historique*, and Lem-priere, would fix the death of Plutarchus at about A. D. 140. The following extract, from Morèri, seems to explain the cause of this discrepancy: "S. Jérôme dit qu'il vécut jusqu' à la 3. année d' Adrien, qui étoit l'an 119. mais si ce que Plutarque même assure, dans ses *Discours de Table*, est vrai, je veux dire, qu'il ait été Préteur ou Archonte de Cheronée, il faut qu'il ait vécu long tems après. Et même on peut croire qu'il ne mourut que sous Antonin le Pieux, conformément à ce qu'il dit dans le *Traité*, si les vieillards peuvent avoir l'administration des affaires publiques."

Cap. V.

Plutarch's great-grand father was Nicarchus⁷ who lived under the [2nd.] Triumvirate.

His grand-father was Lamprias, of whom he says :⁸

“ ἮΝ ΔΕ ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ , Ο ΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΠΟΣ , ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΙΝΕΙΝ
ΕΥΡΕΤΙΚΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ ; ΕΙΩΘΕΙ ΔΕ ΛΕ-
-ΓΕΙΝ , ΟΤΙ ΤΩΙ ΛΙΒΑΝΩΤΩΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΩΣ ΥΠΟ ΘΕΡΜΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΝΑ-
-ΘΥΜΙΑΤΑΙ . ”

The name of Plutarch's Father has not come down to us, but his son has preserved ample testimony of his mildness and prudence, as for instance, in the following passage :⁹

“ ΜΕΜΝΗΜΑΙ ΝΕΟΝ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΤΙ , ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝ ΜΕΘ ΕΤΕΡΟΥ ΠΕΜΦ-
-ΘΕΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝ ; ΑΠΟΛΕΙΦΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΩΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ , ΜΟ-
-ΝΟΝ ΕΝΤΥΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΠΡΑΞΜΕΝΟΝ . ΩΣ ΟΥΝ ΕΜΕΛΛΟΝ ΕΠΑΝ-
-ΕΛΘΩΝ ΑΠΟΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΕΙΝ , ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣ Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ ΚΑΤ ΙΔΙΑΝ , ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ
ΜΗ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ “ ΩΙΧΟΜΗΝ ” , ΑΛΛ “ ΩΙΧΟΜΕΘΑ ” ; ΜΗΘΕ “ ΕΙΠΟΝ ” ,
ΑΛΛ “ ΕΙΠΟΜΕΝ ” ; ΚΑΙ Τ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΥΝΕΦΑΛΤΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙ-
-ΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΙΝ . ”

Plutarchus had at least two Brothers, Timon, and Lamprias, both men of genius and education.

Among the Nepotes¹⁰ of Plutarchus the most celebrated is Sextus Chæronensis, the preceptor of Marcus Antoninus, who says¹ that he was taught by him —

⁷ Whom Plutarchus mentions in vit. M. Ant. p. 948. A.

⁸ Symposiac. Problem. B. I, p. 622, E.

⁹ Of the ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ, p. 816, D.

¹⁰ I retain the Latin word, for fear I should make a mistake. But Rualdus by the word *Nepos* evidently means *nephew*; and Suidas says ΔΕΛΦΙΔΟΥΝ .

¹ B. I, ch. 9.

“ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΛΗΠΤΙΚΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΔΩΙ ΕΞΕΥΡΕΤΙΚΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΒΙΟΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΩΝ . ”

Similarly Eutropius ² says of the philosophical Emperor:

“ Institutus est ad scientiam literarum Græcarum per Sextum Chæronensem, Plutarchi nepotem. ”

So also Julius Capitolinus says of this prince :

“ Audivit et Sextum Chæronensem, Plutarchi nepotem. ”

Suidas calls Sextus—

“ ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΟΥΝ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ , ”

and says that the Emperor held him in such honour,

“ ΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΖΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ . ”

Dio Cassius ³ also says of Antoninus :

“ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ , ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΨΩΝ , ΜΗ ΔΙΔΕΙCΘΑΙ , ΜΗΔΕ ΟΚΝΕΙΝ , ΕC ΔΙΔΑCΚΑΛΟΥ ΦΟΙΤΑΙΝ , ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ CΕΞΤΩΙ ΠΡΟCΙΕΝΑΙ , ΤΩΙ ΕΚ ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟCΟΦΩΙ . ”

And Philostratus says ⁴:

“ ΕCΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΜΕΝ Ο ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΕΡΙ CΕΞΤΟΝ , ΤΟΝ ΕΚ ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑC ΦΙΛΟCΟΦΟΝ , ΘΑΜΙΖΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ , ΚΑΙ ΦΟΙΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ
⁵ ΘΥΡΑΙC . ” ⁶

² Hist. Rom. L. VIII.

³ Principio Lib. LXXI.

⁴ Libro II. de vitis Sophistarum, in Herode.

⁵ [It surely ought to be φοιτών επι θυράς .]

⁶ In the following paragraph, which I omit, Rualdus shews, what, though doubted by Huet, is sufficiently evident, viz : that the Sextus, surnamed *Empiricus*, is not the same person as Sextus Chæronensis; but Rualdus uses a false argument, when he says, that Galenus speaks of Sextus Empiricus as of a writer whose fame was already established: for the *Isagoge*, here referred to by Rualdus, is not really Galen's; and Brucker (Hist. Phil., Vol. 2, p. 636.) seems to shew, that Sextus Empiricus probably did not flourish till about the beginning of the third century.

Cap. VI.

Plutarch's wife's name was Timoxena.⁷ He mentions her in the most flattering terms, saying, that she was by no means a busy-body, or a Superstitious woman;⁸ that she attended the theatre and the public ceremonies without any vain pomp of dress or attendants; that she bore the death of her children with perfect philosophy; and that she had the talent of making other women as virtuous as herself.

Timoxena bore her husband at least five children, four boys and a girl. It was the death of this last child, at the age of scarcely two years, which induced Plutarchus, then at Tanagra, to write one of his most famous treatises.⁹

Two of Plutarch's sons had died, before their sister, namely the eldest and probably the youngest. The father dedicated one of his books¹⁰ to his sons Autobulus and Plutarchus.

Cap. VII.

Ammonius the Egyptian was Plutarch's Tutor; as Eunapius tells us:¹

“ΕΝ ΟΙΣ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ ΤΕ ΉΝ, Ο ΉΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΓΕΓΟΝΩΣ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ.”

and, lower down:

“ΑΥΤΙΚΑ ΟΥΝ Ο ΘΕΣΠΕΣΙΟΣ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ, ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΕΛΥΤΟΥ

⁷ “As Rualdus conjectures with probability,” say some English critics.

⁸ [He directs her to bury the child ΔΙΧΑ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ, ὧΝ ἥκιστα σοὶ μετέστι. Vol. 2. p. 608. B.]

⁹ viz: the ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΗΤΙΚΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΙΔΙΑΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ.

¹⁰ viz: that ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΙΜΑΧΩΪ ΨΥΧΟΓΟΝΙΑΣ.

¹ In the Preface to his Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists.

ΒΙΟΝ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΙΣ ΕΝΔΙΕΣΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙ-
-ΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥ ; ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΓΕ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΗΙΣΙΝ ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΑ
ΒΙΟΝ . ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ
ΕΙΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΙ ΒΙΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ , ΚΑΤΑ ΕΡΓΑ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ , ΑΝΔΡΩΝ . ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟ ΗΔΙΟΝ² , ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥ ,
ΚΑΘ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ ΕΓΚΑΤΕΣΠΕΙΡΕΝ ; ΩΣΤΕ , ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΟΞΥ-
-ΔΕΡΚΟΙΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ , ΚΑΙ ΑΝΙΧΝΕΥΩΝ , ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΠΙΝΤΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ , ΚΑΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣ ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΑΝΑΛΕΓΟΙΤΟ ,
ΔΥΝΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΒΕΒΙΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΙΔΕΣΘΑΙ . ”

This last passage shews, how many of the works of Plutarchus have been lost since the time of Eunapius : for, in the extant works, we meet with only two^{*} passages in which Ammonius is expressly mentioned.

The first passage is : ³

“ Ο ΔΕ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗΣ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ , ΕΝ ΔΕΙΛΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΤΡΙ-
-ΒΗΙ , ΤΩΝ ΓΝΩΡΙΜΩΝ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΔΙΣΘΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΡΙΣΤΗΚΟΤΑΣ ΟΥΧ ἈΠΛΟΥΝ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ , ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΙΔΙΩΙ ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΛΗΓΑΣ ΕΜΒΑΛΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕ-
-ΡΟΝ , ΕΠΕΙΠΩΝ , ΟΤΙ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΟΞΟΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΝ ΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ ; ΚΑΙ
ΑΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΜΑΣ ΑΠΕΒΛΕΨΕΝ , ΩΣΤΕ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΟΧΩΝ ΑΨΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ
ΕΠΙΤΙΜΗΣΙΝ . ”

The other passage is : ⁴

“ ΩΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΘΙΣΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΝΕΩΝ , ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΗΡΞΑΜΗΝ
ΖΗΤΕΙΝ , ΤΑ ΔΕ ΚΕΙΝΟΥΣ ΕΡΩΤΑΙΝ , ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΟ-
-ΓΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ , Α ΠΑΛΛΙ ΠΟΤΕ , ΚΑΘ ΟΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΕΠΙΔΗΜΕΙ ΝΕΡΩΝ ,
ΗΚΟΥΣΑΜΕΝ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ , ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΔΙΕΞΙΟΝΤΩΝ , ΕΝ-
-ΤΑΥΘΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΡΙΑΣ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΕΜΠΕΣΟΥΣΗΣ . ”

Cap. VIII.

Plutarchus must have been a most diligent reader.

² I never read Eunapius, but I suppose that ΤΟ ΗΔΙΟΝ is a false print for ΤΟΝ ΙΔΙΟΝ.

³ In the ΠΩΣ ΤΙΣ ΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΛΛΑΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΥ , p. 70. E.

⁴ In the ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΕΝ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ , p. 335. B.

In what is extant of only his "Parallel Lives" we find that he quotes no less than 240 ancient writers;⁵ while Plinius the Elder, in the preface to his Natural History, says that, for that great work, he had not read more than 100.

It appears from the following passage⁶ that Plutarchus was in the habit of making *Adversaria* (or unconnected observations) upon various subjects:

"ΜΗΤΕ ΔΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΕΧΩΝ , ΩΣ ΠΡΟΗΡΟΥΜΗΝ , ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΙΣ ΕΒΟΥΛΟΥ , ΜΗΤΕ ΥΠΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΕΝΑΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΠΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΧΕΡ-
-ΣΙΝ ΟΦΘΗΝΑΙ ΣΟΙ ΠΑΡ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΦΙΓΜΕΝΟΝ , ΑΝΕΛΕΞΑΜΗΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΘΥ-
-ΜΙΑΣ , ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ , ΩΝ ΕΜΑΥΤΩΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΝ ."

Cap. IX.

That Plutarchus "was not unacquainted with the divine gospels," and that he "transfused much of the Christian theology into his own writings" is affirmed by Theodoretus, Bishop of Cyrus, in his second oration.⁷

The same [Father of the Church,] in his tenth oration,⁸ fully shews, that Plutarchus was persuaded, that not Gods, but Dæmons, gave the oracular responses; and that the Priests, instigated by those Dæmons, promulgated venal and false oracles; and that these Dæmons were evil, base, and cruel. All these are certainly the arguments of a Christian. I may add, that Plutarchus seems to have condemned

⁵ A list of these writers, with references, is given in the Preface to the Plutarch's works of A. D. 1624, p. 40--42.

⁶ In the ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΑΣ, p. 464. F.

⁷ viz: in that which is inscribed ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΗΣ.

⁸ Or that ΠΕΡΙ ΧΡΗΣΜΩΝ.

Polytheism, at any rate in the following passage :⁹

“ ΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΤΙΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΔΙΑΣ ΔΝ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΕΣ ΩΣΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΙ , ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΚΑΘ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ† ΚΑΙ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΛΟΥ ΘΕΟΝ , ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΝ , ΟΙΟΣ Ο ΠΑΡ ΗΜΙΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΕΠΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ?

I may also observe, that in the books of Plutarchus are many opinions, derived from I know not whence, which, from their truth and gravity, may be taken for a Christian¹⁰ Oracle. Therefore, as Tertullianus, in his book *de animâ*,¹ calls Seneca, so also I here² would not doubt to call Plutarchus, “ often one of our party.”³

But, in having written many things agreeable to our religion, he has only done, as Plato, Hermes,⁴ the above-mentioned Seneca, and others, did, who certainly were not Christians. As however Hermes and Plato may have read our Old Testament,⁵ so also Plutarchus may have read the New,⁶ but, that

⁹ Of the περί των εκκλησιολογικών χρησתר. p. 425. F.

¹⁰ [As far as Christianity is synonymous with Reason.]

¹ [Cap. 20.]

² I know not why Rualdus omits referring to the equally tolerant opinion of Johannes Euchaïta.

³ [Or of the party of the Confucians, or of that of the Indians of the Six Nations, or of &c.]

⁴ Rualdus seems therefore to believe in the genuineness and authenticity of the writings attributed to “Hermes.” The writer who has assumed this name was a sort of Gnostic. Beausobre (*Manich.* Tom. 2, p. 731) says of him : “ Son principe était que la foi ne convient qu’au peuple ; que le sage se conduit par la science.”

⁵ [Though nothing can be more improbable : for none of the old Jewish books were translated into Greek ’till about 260 B. C.]

⁶ [Though it was probably not formed into one volume till after his time.]

he should have believed in it, is utterly improbable: for, in one of his treatises,⁷ written not many years, perhaps not many days, before his death, he mentions that he had been worshipping the Pythian Apollo.⁸ It is therefore universally acknowledged that he always remained a Pagan; and even Theodoretus⁹ calls him

“ ἄνδρα ταῖς ἐλληνικαῖς δοξαῖς δεδογλωμένον : ”

and afterwards says:

“ τὰυτὰ οὐ προφήτης ἡμετέρος , οὐδ’ ἀποστόλος εἰρηκέν , οὐδ’ εἰς τίς ἄλλος τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπιστευκότων , καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων δοξάζειν ἐσπούδακότων : ἀλλ’ ἄνθρωπος , πᾶσαν μὲν ἡσκήμενος παιδείαν , τῇ δὲ παλαιᾷ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἐξαπαθῇ δογμῶν . ”

For one reason, however, we Christians ought to be less hostile to him than to the other writers of those times, because he has never written a syllable against us and our religion, whereas almost all the other Pagan writers¹⁰ have vied with one ano-

⁷ viz: the εἰ πρεσβύτερῳ πολιτεύτεον (p. 792. F.)

⁸ “ οἶσα με τῷ πνεύματι λειτουργοῦντα πολλὰς πνευματικῶν . ”

⁹ In his tenth book above mentioned.

¹⁰ [i. e. such as condescended to notice us ; but this was seldom the case, even down to the period when the worship of the Gods ceased to be the orthodox religion. Some of our modern advocates do indeed suppose, that, even within the first 150 years after the execution of our blessed Saviour, we —are not only reprobated by Tacitus (A. D. 105), Plinius and Trajanus (A. D. 106), Suetonius (A. D. 115), Marcus Antoninus (A. D. 170), Lucianus (A. D. 176), and especially by Celsus, (A. D. 176) but—may also perhaps be alluded to (generally with contempt) by Epictetus (A. D. 109), Martialis (A. D. 95), Juvenalis (A. D. 100), Apuleius (A. D. 164), and Aristides (A. D. 176). Yet surely there is not the most distant allusion to us, or to our worthy founder, in the following writers, who likewise flourished during the above-mentioned period, viz: Plinius the naturalist (A. D. 70), Seneca the philosopher (A. D. 60), Pomponius Mela (A. D. 40), Pausanias

-ther in heaping abuse upon us. Thus [Suetonius] Tranquillus¹ most falsely names the Christians " a race of men of a new and pernicious superstition." And Tacitus² most impudently says, that they were " hated for their crimes," and calls their faith a " deadly superstition." Moreover, Lucianus³ impiously denominates our Lord Christ a " crucified sophist." ⁴ [About A. D. 270], Porphyrius bitterly insulted the Christians; and [about A. D. 222], the lawyer Ulpianus wrote seven volumes " de torquendis Christianis." ⁵ [About A. D. 396],⁶ Eunapius⁷ calls the holy relicks of the saints

" ΟΥΤΕΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΜΑΤΙΝ ΕΛΛΩΚΟ-
ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΛΙΖΟΜΕΝΑΣ, ΟΥΣ ΤΟ ΠΟΛΙΚΙΤΟΝ ΕΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ."

He also calls the divine Martyrs

(A. D. 170), Ptolemæus (A. D. 130), Ælianus (A. D. 120), Dio Prusæus (A. D. 98), Quinctilianus (A. D. 100), Lucius Florus (A. D. 110), Arrianus (A. D. 140), Appianus (A. D. 123), Petronius Arbitrator (A. D. 60), Papinius Statius (A. D. 90), Annaeus Lucanus (A. D. 63), and Aulus Persius (A. D. 60). It is shocking to think what little effect our miracles can have produced upon these literary men. They will all be d——d.]

¹ B. 6. ch. 16.

² Annal. XV. ch. 44.

³ In the Dialogue ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΕΓΡΙΝΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣ, ch. 13.

⁴ " ΤΟΝ ΑΝΕΣΚΟΛΟΙΣΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ."

⁵ I am ignorant of Rualdus's authority. Lactantius (B. 5. ch. 11.) does indeed say: " Domitius, de officio Proconsulis, libris septem, rescripta nefaria collegit, ut doceret quibus poenis affici oporteret eos qui se cultores Dei profiterentur." But, first, the title of the work appears to be different; and secondly, for *libris septem*, some MSS. read *libro septimo*, which I suppose is the right reading, as Lardner adopts it without alluding to the former one. Observe, that, in the *Corpus Juris*, there is not extant one word against the Christians.

⁶ I take these dates from Lardner's works, Vol. 4. 4to. edit.

⁷ In vit. Ædesii, circa finem.

“ΑΝΔΡΑΠΟΤΑ ΔΕΔΟΥΛΕΥΚΟΤΑ ΚΑΚΩΣ , ΚΑΙ ΜΑΣΤΙΖΙ ΚΑΤΑΔΕΔΑΠΑ-
-ΝΗΜΕΝΑ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΧΘΗΡΙΑΣ ΩΤΕΙΛΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΙΣ
ΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ . ”

And he calls the monks :

“ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΙΔΟΣ , Ο ΔΕ ΒΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΩΔΗΣ ,
ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΕΜΦΑΝΕΣ ΕΠΑΣΧΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΟΙΟΥΝ ΜΥΡΙΑ ΚΑΚΑ ΚΑΙ
ΑΦΡΑΚΤΑ . ”

Similarly, the monks are bitterly inveighed against by Rutilius Gallus, in his *Itinerarium*, [about A. D. 418.]

[But let us return to Plutarchus.] This writer has not expressly affected to injure the Christian faith ;⁸ and, in this respect, as in many others, he agrees with Seneca the philosopher. For the passage in Seneca :⁹

“ In Tiberii principatum juventæ tempus inciderat : alienigenarum sacra movebantur ; sed inter argumenta superstitionis ponebatur quorundam animalium abstinencia, - - ”

alludes, not to the Christians, but to the Jews and Egyptians, who were banished from Rome thirteen years before the death of our Saviour.

Cap. X.

Plutarchus was so well acquainted with every sort of philosophy, that he was fully entitled to be called,¹⁰

“Ἡ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ ἈΛΑΣΗΣ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀγρᾶ . ”

He may perhaps even be placed among the Eclectics, of whom Laertius says :¹

⁸ [Perhaps because he had never heard of it.]

⁹ Epist. CVIII. [Lardner has wisely refrained from even alluding to this testimony.]

¹⁰ “ by Agathias Smyrnæus ” says Rualdus ; but surely this is a fault, and Rualdus meant to refer to *Eunapius*, de vitis Sophistarum, Proœm. p. 11, as indeed he does in his last chapter, p. 55.

¹ In extremo proœmio 1. libri de vitis Philosophorum.

“ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΠΡΟ ΟΛΙΓΟΥ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΗ ΤΙΣ ΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ ΕΙΣΗΧΘΗ ΥΠΟ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ , ΕΚΛΕΖΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΑ ΑΡΕΣΑΝ-ΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΑΣΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΝ .”

Saint Clemens of Alexandria may also perhaps be considered as belonging to this sect, when he says: ²

“ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΔΕ , ΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΩΪΚΗΝ ΛΕΓΩ , ΟΥΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΛΑ-ΤΩΝΙΚΗΝ , Η ΤΗΝ ΕΛΙΚΟΥΡΕΙΟΝ ΤΕ , ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΙ-ΚΗΝ , ΑΛΛ ΟΣΑ ΕΙΡΗΤΑΙ ΠΑΡ ΕΚΑΣΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΚΑ-ΛΩΣ , ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΝ ΜΕΤ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΣ ΕΚΔΙΔΑΣΚΟΝΤΑ , ΤΟΥΤΟ ΣΥΜΠΑΝ ΤΟ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ , ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΦΗΜΙ .”

But those doctrines, which Plutarchus more par-
ticularly maintained, were those of the Academy. ³
Thus he says ⁴:

“ΤΑΥΤΑ , Ω ΦΑΒΩΡΙΝΕ , ΤΟΙΣ ΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΥΦ ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ-ΒΑΛΛΕ . ΚΑΙΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΛΕΙΠΗΤΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΙΘΑΝΟΤΗΤΙ , ΜΗΤΕ ΥΠΕΡΕΧΗ ΠΟΛΥ , ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΕΑ ΤΑΣ ΔΟΞΑΣ , ΤΟ “ΕΠΕΧΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΔΗΛΟΙΣ” ΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΤΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ .”

and again ⁵ he says, of himself:

“ΜΕΛΛΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΙΜΗΣΕΙΝ ΤΟ “ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ” , ΕΝ ΑΚΑ-ΔΗΜΙΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ .”

Now there were various Academics, (the Old, the Middle, the New, the Antiochean, and the Philoni-an); but they almost all agreed, in professing doubtfulness, in rejecting rash assertions, and in maintainiug ⁶ that they knew

² [Stromat. I. p. 388, edit. Potter. Rualdus only quotes down to the word ΚΑΛΩΣ. I have added the remainder of the sentence, that its meaning may be more evident.]

³ [For more ample information on this subject, see the ex-tracts from Brucker, infra.]

⁴ In libro περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ψυχροῦ , p. 955. C.

⁵ In libro περὶ τοῦ εἰ τοῦ ἐν δελφοῖς , p. 387. F.

⁶ quod est apud Platonem in Menone πεπρακτικῶι .

“ ΟΥΤΕ ΑΛΛΟ , Η ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΡΕΙΝ , ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΛΛΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΑΠΟΡΕΙΝ . ”

They therefore differed entirely from the Stoics, who admitted some things, and rejected others, relying on certain fixed axioms which they called ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ. On the other hand, the Sceptics or Pyrrhonists maintained, as the fundamental laws of their sect, “ we define nothing ; ”⁷ “ we persist in our Scepticism ; ”⁸ “ this is not more certain than that, or than any thing else.”⁹

But, although the Academicians, like the Pyrrhonists, were called

“ ΣΚΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ ” , “ ΕΦΕΚΤΙΚΟΙ ” , “ ΑΠΟΡΗΤΙΚΟΙ ” :

yet they did not, like the Pyrrhonists, maintain, that even our uncertainty is uncertain.

“ Non enim sumus ii, quibus nihil verum esse videtur, sed qui omnibus veris falsa quadam adjuncta esse, dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut nulla insit certa judicandi et discernendi nota. - - ”

is the language which Cicero attributes to the Academicians in his Lucullus.¹⁰

Cap. XI.

¹ If those Philosophers are to be despised, who, to use the language of Epictetus are,

“ ΑΝΕΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ , ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ” :

and, if it be the perfection of Philosophy “ spectare, simul que agere,” as Seneca says; then we must

⁷ “ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΟΡΙΖΟΜΕΝ . ”

⁸ “ ΣΚΕΠΤΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΙΑΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝ . ”

⁹ “ ΟΥ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΟΔΕ , Η ΕΚΕΙΝΩΣ , ΟΥΔ ΕΤΕΡΩΣ . ”

¹⁰ [i. e. the 2nd. (or 4th.) Book of his Quæstiones Academicæ ; but I cannot find the passage.]

¹ I do not know what name grammarians, or rhetoricians, give to a phrase involving this sort of negative and unexpected

certainly have the greatest esteem for Plutarchus, who lived in all the integrity and holiness, which any man could, who was not a Christian.²

We may judge that he was of a kind and merciful disposition, from his condemning the misanthropy and inhumanity of the Elder Cato. One of his arguments in favour of kindness towards aged slaves, is³

“ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΙΠΠΩΝ ΑΠΕΙΡΗΚΟΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΠΟΝΟΥ ΤΡΟΦΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΩΝ, ΟΥ ΣΚΥΛΑΚΙΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΓΗΡΩΚΟΜΙΑΙ, ΤΩΙ ΧΡΗΣΤΩΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΥΣΙΝ.”

Again he says :⁴

“ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΩΣ ΥΠΟΔΗΜΑΣΙΝ Η ΣΚΕΥΕΣΙ, ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΙ ΧΡΗΣΤΕΟΝ, ΚΟΛΕΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΤΡΙΒΕΝΤΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΡΡΙΠΤΟΥΝΤΑΣ ; ΑΛΛΕΙ ΔΙΑ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΛΛΟ, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ, ΠΡΟΕΘΙΣΤΕΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΑΘΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΙΛΙΧΟΝ. ΕΓΩ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΒΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΗΝ ΔΙΑ ΓΗΡΑΣ ΑΠΟΔΟΙΜΗΝ, ΜΗΤΙΓΕ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ, ΕΚ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΣΥΝΤΡΟΦΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΙΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΗΘΟΥΣ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΚ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ, ΜΕΘΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΝ, ΑΝΤΙ ΚΕΡΜΑΤΩΝ ΜΙΚΡΩΝ, ΑΧΗΣΤΟΝ ΓΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΩΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΠΡΑΣΚΟΥΣΙ, ΓΕΝΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΝ.”

How much he abhorred inconstancy and anger, is evident from his saying :⁵

“ΕΓΩΓ ΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΕΘΕΛΟΙΜΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΠΕΡΙ

conclusion, but it appears to me peculiarly inelegant.

² Rualdus should have defined what he meant by the word “holiness;” and, as regards “integrity,” he should have produced instances to prove that the Christians were more honest than the worshippers of Jupiter.

³ In vit. Caton. maj. p. 338, F.

⁴ p. 339, C.

⁵ In libr. περὶ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ, p. 169. F. [p. 36 of my reprint.]

ΕΜΟΥ , ΜΗΤΕ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΑΙ ΤΟΠΑΡΑΠΑΝ , ΜΗΤΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΝ ,
 Η ΛΕΓΕΙΝ , ΟΤΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΑΒΕΒΑΙΟΣ , ΕΥ-
 -ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΟΣ , ΕΥΧΕΡΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΡΓΗΝ , ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΥΧΟΥΣΙ ΤΙΜΩ-
 -ΡΗΤΙΚΟΣ , ΜΙΚΡΟΛΥΠΟΣ . ”

That he was also free from the opposite extreme,
 which the Greeks call

“ ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΑ ” , “ ΡΑΘΥΜΙΑ ” , ΟΡ “ ΑΝΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ” ,

may be proved from the following anecdote,⁶ which
 the philosopher Taurus recounted to Aulus Gellius :

“ Plutarchus servo suo, nequam homini et contumaci, sed libris
 disputationibus que Philosophiæ aures imbutas habenti, tunicam
 detrahi, ob nescio quod delictum, cædi que eum loro jussit. Cæ-
 -perat verberari: obloquebatur, non meruisse ut vapularet; nihil
 mali, nihil sceleris, admisisse. Postremo vociferari inter vapulan-
 -dum incipit; neque jam querimonias, aut gemitus ejulatus que
 facere, sed verba seria et objurgatoria: “ non ita esse Plutarchum,
 ut diceret, Philosophum; irasci turpe esse; sæpe eum de malo
 iræ disertavisse, librum quoque ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΡΗΣΙΑΣ pulcherrimum con-
 -scripsisse; his omnibus, quæ in eo libro scripta sunt, nequaquam
 convenire, quod, provolutus effusus que in iram, plurimis se pla-

⁶ I think it rather proves, that all men are, at times, tyrannical;
 and that, therefore, the power of tyrannizing over their fellow
 beings, should not be granted even to the greatest philosophers.
 Montaigne (Ess., Livr. II, Chap. XXXI.) has translated the
 whole of this anecdote, without adding any observation. Ville-
 -main, in the Biographie Universelle, very justly says (of Plu-
 -tarch's command to the executor of the punishment): “ Il y
 aurait dans ce bon mot plus d'esprit que d'humanité.” After-
 -wards Villemain says: “ Plutarque semble nous apprendre lui-
 -même, qu'il n'avait ni tant de patience, ni tant de rigueur.
 ‘ Je m' étois, dit-il, emporté plusieurs fois contre mes esclaves; mais,
 à la fin, je me suis aperçu qu'il valait mieux les rendre pires par
 mon indulgence, que de me gêner moi-même par la colère, en vou-
 -lant les corriger.’ [ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΡΗΣΙΑΣ, p. 459. C.] Nous pré-
 -férons croire à cet aveu; et, il s' accorde davantage avec le ca-
 -ractère universel de bienveillance, avec cette espèce de tendresse
 d'âme, que Plutarque montre dans ses écrits, et qu'il étend jusqu'
 aux animaux.”

-gis mulctaret." Tum Plutarchus, lente et lenitur: "Quid autem, inquit, verbero, nunc ego tibi irasci videor? Ex vultu ne meo, an ex voce, an ex colore, an etiam ex verbis correptum esse me irâ intelligis? Mihi, quidem, neque oculi, opinor, truces sunt, neque os turbidum, neque immaniter clamo, neque in spumam ruborem ve effervesco, neque pudenda dico aut poenitenda, neque omnino trepido irâ et gestio: hæc enim omnia, si ignoras, signa esse irarum solent." Et simul ad eum qui caedebat, conversus: "Interim, inquit, dum ego et hic disputamus, hoc tu age."⁷

Plutarchus was very averse to discord. When in a quarrel with his wife's relations, he went with her to [mount] Helicon, and sacrificed to [the genius of] Love, who was supposed to be the appeaser of strife.⁸ Plutarchus also always endeavoured to conciliate persons who were at variance, as we learn from what he says⁹ of the two brothers, who chose him to be arbiter between them.

Plutarchus was extremely attached to his wife, to his children, and to his brothers. He was also particularly attached to his country.¹⁰ He tells us¹ that he undertook to write the life of Lucullus, because that commander had shewn kindness to [the people of] Chæronea. It was to increase the population of this, his native town, that Plutarchus left the splendour of Rome.² Finally, because Herodotus had spoken contumeliously of Bœotia, Plutarchus wrote against that Historian a furious diatribe.³

⁷ vid. Noct. Att., Lib. I, cap. XXVI.

⁸ vid. libr. quem inscripsit ΕΡΩΤΙΚΟΣ, p. 749. B. A.

⁹ In the ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΙΑΣ, p. 479, E.

¹⁰ [A sure sign that his country was a very miserable one.]

¹ In Cimonis vitâ, p. 474. E.

² As he tells us in his life of Demosthenes, p. 846, E.

³ Entitled ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΟΗΘΕΙΑΣ. [The injustice of this attack upon Herodotus shews how much even a Philo-

Plutarchus must have been very averse to Flattery, if he could write to Trajanus so boldly as John of Salisbury says that he wrote.⁴

His aversion to Superstition is evident from his book ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ .

That, however, he was not perfectly free from Superstition is shewn by his confessing⁵ that, he, for some time, abstained from eating eggs, in consequence of an admonition which he had received in his dreams.

Cap. XII.

Plutarchus was two or three times at Rome before he took up his abode there—at what period is not exactly known: but he was still in Greece towards the end of the reign of Nero; and it is probable that he had [quitted Italy] before Arulenus Rusticus, one of his auditors at Rome, was put to death by Domitianus.⁶ Some persons suppose that Plutarchus settled at Rome at the persuasion of Senecio. C. Sossius Senecio was four times consul: first probably under Nerva, in A. D. 99; secondly, thirdly, and fourthly, under Trajanus, in the years [100, 103 or 104,] and 108 or 109.⁷ Now

-sopher can be depraved by *Nationalism*. It is by fostering this same prejudice in favour of some spot of earth, that tyrants change reasonable beings into soldiers.]

⁴ “ [Verum et ipsa epistolæ ratio, pædagogum spirans, et à moribus Plutarchi tota aliena, et lingua in quâ scripta est Latina, foetum satis produnt supposititium, ” says Brucker, Hist. Phil., Vol. 2. p. 180.]

⁵ Lib. II, Sympos. Probl. ΠΟΤΕΡΟΝ ἢ ΟΡΝΙΣ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ἢ ΤΟ ΩΩΝ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ , p. 635. E.

⁶ vid. libr. ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΥΠΡΑΓΜΟΣΥΝΗΣ , p. 522. E.

⁷ [In the *Fastes Consulaires* given by Picot, C. Sossius Senecio is marked as Consul in the years 99, 102, and 107.]

that Senecio was a great friend to Plutarchus, is manifest from this writer's having dedicated so many books to him.⁸

But Plutarchus must have been sufficiently induced to come to Rome by the consideration of the superior facilities which he would there receive for compiling his works. Thus he says:⁹

“ ΤΩΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΝ ΥΠΟΒΕΒΛΗΜΕΝΩΙ , ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΕΞ ΟΥ ΠΡΟΧΕΙΡΩΝ , ΟΥΔ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΝ , ΑΛΛΑ ΞΕΝΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΣΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΙΟΥΣΑΝ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΜΑΤΩΝ , ΤΩΙ ΟΝΤΙ ΧΡΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ , ΩΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ ΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΟΔΑΠΩΝ Δ-ΦΘΟΝΙΑΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ , ΚΑΙ ΟΣΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΑΣ ΔΙΑΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΑ ΣΩΤΗ-ΡΙΑΙ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΕΡΑΝ ΕΙΛΗΦΕ ΛΙΣΤΙΝ , ΥΠΟΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΝ ΑΚΟΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΠΥΝΘΑΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ , ΜΗ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ , ΜΗΔ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΝ ΕΝΔΕΕΣ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΙΗ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ . ”

The Historians, Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius Halicarnessensis, tell us that they went to Rome for the same purpose.

Cap. XIII.

In what respect Plutarchus was held at Rome is evident from the following passage:¹⁰

“ ΕΜΟΥ ΠΟΤΕ ΕΝ ΡΩΜΗΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ , ΡΟΥΣΤΙΚΟΣ (ΕΚ-ΕΙΝΟΣ ΨΟΝ ΎΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΕ ΔΟΜΕΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΤΗΙ ΔΟΞΗΙ ΦΕΟ-ΝΗΣΑΣ) ΗΚΡΟΑΤΟ ; ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΜΕΣΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΕΛΘΩΝ ΕΠΙ-ΤΟΛΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΠΕΔΩΚΕ . ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΔΕ ΣΙΩΠΗΣ , ΚΑΙΜΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΙΠΟΝΤΟΣ ΟΠΩΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ , ΟΥΚ ΗΘΕ-

⁸ The Parallel Lives, and also the πως αν τις λισθοιτο, and the eight books of the συμποσιακα .

⁹ In vit. Demosth., Vol. 1, p. 846, D.

¹⁰ In libro περι πολυπραγμοσυνης , Vol. 2, p. 522, D.

-ΛΗCEN : ΟΥΔΕ ΕΛΥCΕ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ , Η ΔΙΕΞΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ , ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΛΥΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΚΡΑΤΗΡΙΟΝ . ”

L. Junius Arulenus Rusticus, who shewed this reverence for Plutarch's lectures, was a man of the highest rank, and was celebrated for his writings and integrity. He was a Stoic Philosopher [and a friend to liberty.] The cause of his death is thus mentioned by Tacitus :¹

“ Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Pætus Thræsea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius, laudati essent, capitale fuisse; neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum, in comitio ac foro, urerentur. ”

Thus also Suetonius says :²

“ Junium Rusticum, quod Pæti Thræseæ, et Helvidii Prisci, laudes edidisset, appellasset que viros sanctissimos,³ interemit. ”

And Xiphilinus says :

“ ΤΟΝ ΔΗ ΡΟΥCΤΙΚΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΟΥΛΙΝΟΝ ΑΝΕΚΤΕΙΝΕ , ΟΤΙ ΕΦΙΛΟCΟΦΕΙ⁴ , ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΘΡΑCΕΑΝ ΙΕΡΟΝ³ ΩΝΟΜΑΖΕ . ”

That Arulenus Rusticus should have attended the Lectures of Plutarchus, is not by any means a singular instance of the reverence in which philosophers were held by many great Romans : for anec-

¹ In præfatione Agricolæ.

² In Domitiano, cap. X.

³ [We cannot expect that Christians should ever be made Saints of for their love of Civil, or Political, Freedom: for, after implicit faith, a Christian's first and greatest duty is passive obedience.]

⁴ [“ Because he philosophized ”—an admirable reason for killing a man! But Domitianus lived, when Persecution was only in its childhood, and had as yet no idea of system. Were that worthy and legitimate despot now in life and power, he might be informed (by various persons with whom I have the honour of being acquainted) that *imprisonment* is a more tedi-

-dotes are related of still greater condescension towards philosophers from Pompeius, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, and, in later times, from Alexander [Severus.]

Cap. XIV.

It is probable that Plutarchus lectured in Greek: for, as he tells us in the following passage,⁵ he did not acquire the Latin language 'till late in life:

“ ΕΝ ΡΩΜΗΙ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΑΙΣ , ΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ ΟΥΧΗΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΕΘΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ , ΥΠΟ ΧΡΕΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ , ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΛΗΣΙΑΖΟΝΤΩΝ , ΟΨΕΟΤΕ , ΚΑΙ ΠΟΡΡΩ ΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ , ΗΨΑΜΕΘΑ ΡΩΚΑΪΚΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΝΤΥΓΧΑΝΕΙΝ . ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ , ΑΛΛ ΑΛΗΘΕΣ ΕΠΑΣΧΟΜΕΝ : ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΙΕΝΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΡΙΖΕΙΝ ΣΥΝΕΒΑΙΝΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ , ΩΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΜΩΣΓΕΛΩΣ ΕΙΧΟΜΕΝ ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΑΣ , ΕΠΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙ . ΚΑΛΛΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΧΟΥΣ ΑΙΣΘΑΝΕΣΘΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ , ΚΑΙ ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΟΙΣ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΓΑΛΛΕΤΑΙ , ΧΑΡΙΕΝ ΜΕΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΑΤΕΡΠΕΣ . Η ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΥΧΕΡΗΣ . ΑΛΛ ΟΙΣ ΤΙΣΙ ΠΛΕΙΩΝ ΤΕ ΣΧΟΛΗ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΩΡΑΣ ΕΤΙ , ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΧΩΡΕΙ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΣ . ”

[The above passage will probably be thought quite sufficient upon the subject, but] I will add another, from the life of the Elder Cato, (p. 340, A):

“ ΟΘΕΝ ΟΥΚ ΟΙΔΑ ΤΙ ΠΕΠΟΝΘΑΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΩΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΦΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΟΙΚΕΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΩΝΟC . ΟΥ ΜΗΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΝ , ΟΙΣ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΙΔΕΑΣ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΩΝ ΑΙΣΘΑΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟCHΚΕΙ , ΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΟΥCΙΝ . ”

-ous, and at the same time a less invidious, punishment, than the mere passing agony of an immediate death.]

⁵ In vita Demosthenis.

Yet Plutarchus has himself remarked how universally the Latin language was spoken :⁶

“ὥς δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Ῥωμαίων λέγειν , ὡν μὲν λόγῳ νῦν ὁμοῦ τι πάντες ἀνθρώποι χρῶνται .”

Roman commanders, from the days of Paulus Æmilius, even perhaps till after the foundation of Constantinople, seem to have required that the examination of witnesses, &c, should be carried on in Latin.⁷

Cap. XV.

Plutarchus held considerable offices in his country and at Rome. When young he was deputed by the Chaeronenses to the Roman proconsul, as appears from the passage already quoted.⁸ When at Rome his time was fully occupied either by those who came to him to be instructed in Philosophy, or by certain “public affairs,”⁹ with the nature of which we are unacquainted. If we can rely upon John of Salisbury, Plutarchus was Trajan’s præceptor ;¹⁰ and Sui-

⁶ In the ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΑ ΖΗΤΗΜΑΤΑ, p. 1010. C.

⁷ [But whether Iêsôus and Pilatus talked Latin, (as also whether Paulus Tarsensis wrote to *the Romans*, or rather to a few Roman slaves and freedmen, in Latin,) I will not take upon me to decide, ’till I have consulted some learned (or at any rate some most orthodox) divine.]

⁸ In cap. V. [p. 10.] taken from the ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛ-
-ΜΑΤΑ, p. 816, D.

⁹ “ὑπο χρείων πολιτικῶν,” [see the long quotation in the last page.]

¹⁰ [So Dempster (quoted by Pope Blount, Cens. Cel. Auct. p. 100.) understands the passage. vid. Brucker. Hist. Phil. Vol. 2, p. 180, note u. Wyttenbach has inserted the *Institutio Trajani*, or *Epistola* [Plutarchi] *ad Trajanum*, among the *Fragmenta Incertorum Librorum*, at the end of the 10th. Svo. vol. (or Tom. V, P. 11.) of his edition of Plutarch’s works.]

-das says that Trajanus conferred the consulship¹ on Plutarchus. It was probably after the death of this Emperor, that the Philosopher returned to his country. Here he became Archon,² that is Præfect, or Prætor.³ He was also, for many years, Priest to the Pythian Apollo: for, in one of his treatises,⁴ he says:

“ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝ ΟΙΘΑ ΜΕ ΤΩΙ ΠΥΘΙΩΙ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΝΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΠΥΘΙΑ-
-ΔΑΣ . ΑΛΛ ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΕΙΠΗΙΣ : ‘ΥΚΑΝΑ ΣΟΙ , Ω ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΕ ,
ΤΕΘΥΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΠΟΜΠΕΥΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΧΟΡΕΥΤΑΙ : ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΩΡΑ ΠΡΕΣ-

¹ [But for the first 250 years after Christ, I cannot find a Græcian name among those of the Consuls, in Picot's Catalogue, except Pæduceus, A. D. 141. The Biographie Universelle very properly says: “Ce conte de Suidas est assez dementi par le silence de l' histoire, et par les usages des Romains.”]

² Near the beginning of the 8th. problem of the 6th. book of Symposiaca, he says: “ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΟΥΝ ΕΜΟΥ - .” [I will here add, from the Biographie Universelle, (Tom. XXXV, p. 103) an account of the philosopher's conduct when at Charonea : “Plutarque, pendant le long séjour qu'il fit dans sa patrie, fut sans cesse occupé d'elle. Jaloux avec passion de l' ombre de liberté qui restait à ses concitoyens sous l' abri de la conquête romaine, il les invitait à terminer leurs affaires et leurs procès par la juridiction de leurs propres magistrats, sans jamais recourir à la haute-justice du proconsul ou du préteur. Pour leur donner l' exemple, il remplit lui-même avec zèle, dans Chéronée, toutes les fonctions, toutes les charges publiques de ce petit gouvernement municipal que Rome laissait aux vaincus : non-seulement il fut archonte, ce qui était la première dignité de la ville; mais il exerça long-temps avec exactitude, et avec joie, un office inférieur, une certaine inspection de travaux publics, qui lui donnait le soin, nous dit-il, de mesurer de la tuile, et d' inscrire sur un registre les quantités de pierres qu'on lui présentait.” [vid. ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ, p. 811, C.]

³ [And Brucker twice says, that, according to Syncellus, Plutarchus was, under Hadrianus, made Procurator of Græcia.]

⁴ The ΕΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΕΟΝ , p. 792, F.

-ΒΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ ΑΠΟΘΕΣΘΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΧΡΗΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΙΠΕΙΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΓΗΡΑΣ . ' "

Cap. XVI. - - - XIX.

Notwithstanding his avocations, Plutarchus found time to write treatises [on almost every imaginable subject.]

His principal work, [which is nearly equal in point of length to the sum total of what is extant of his opuscula,] is entitled the Parallels, or Parallel Lives, of the most remarkable Græcians and Romans. Thus we have the Lives of 23 Græcians from Theseus down to Philopœmen, and of as many Romans from Romulus down to [Marcus Antonius.] Besides the Parallel Lives, Plutarchus wrote some [separate ones,] of which all have perished, except those of Aratus, Artoxerxes, Galba, and Otho.

Among the Lost works of Plutarchus the names have been preserved of [six double, or parallel Lives, and of sixteen separate Lives,] as also of no less than a hundred and thirty four Opuscula or Moral treatises.⁵ The greater part of these titles have been handed down to us in the Catalogue of Plutarch's works, made by his son Lamprias.⁶ As this catalogue has not been preserved entire, it is impossible

⁵ [But it appears that the MS. of Lamprias's ΠΙΝΑΞ is, in many places, illegible; and therefore surely no exact calculation can be made from it.]

⁶ [Let me here observe, what I ought to have observed before, that the mention in this catalogue of any one of Plutarch's extant treatises, does not prove that the treatise we now have under the title in question was actually written by Plutarchus: for the ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, the ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΚΑ, the ΕΡΩΤΙΚΑΙ ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ, the ΒΙΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ ΡΗΤΩΡΩΝ, and the ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΕΣΚΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΙΣ, though mentioned in the catalogue, are nevertheless suspected to be more or less spurious.]

to say how many other works Plutarchus may have written.⁷

[The loss of so many of Plutarch's writings is by no means extraordinary, when we consider how many other writers have suffered in an equal, and even far greater, proportion.] Thus:⁸ of the 40 books of the Universal History of Polybius, only the 5 first remain complete.⁹ Of 18 works¹⁰ written by C. Julius Cæsar, we have only his Commentaries. Titus Livius wrote a Roman History in 142 books, of which there are not 35 left entire.¹ The Bibliotheca of Diodorus Siculus is reduced from 40 books to 15. Of the Roman History by Dio [Cassius] we have only

⁷ [If this catalogue, enumerating about 170 *Ethica*, mentions (as appears to me) all but about 12 of the 80 extant, then, according to the rule of proportion, as 80 are to 170, so are 80 *plus* 12 to about 195.]

⁸ In the following list, Rualdus very properly limits himself to the mention of prose writers, chiefly historians.

⁹ [But there are fragments of the next twelve, besides extracts from the remainder. The fragments might, it is said, be very much increased, if the MSS were duly inspected which are *preserved* (*Qu. left to rot*) at Naples, in Spain, and elsewhere.]

¹⁰ [On Grammar, Astronomy, Religion, History, &c.]

¹ [Pope Gregorius the great is *said* to have caused all the copies of Livy's history, that could be found, to be committed to the flames, because the prodigies contained in them might appear favourable to the cause of Paganism. It has been supposed, that part of the eighth, tenth, and eleventh decads were sold by the monks of Fontevrault to their apothecary, by whom they were re-sold to a shopman who converted them into battledores. In 1772, a fragment of Livy's 91st. book discovered in the Vatican, was, with difficulty, decyphered under the super-inscribed text of part of the Old Testament. ~~I wish the Christian scribes would have recollected, that an old, or antiquated, testament is worth nothing,~~ when we have a new, or fresh, one.]

21 books² out of 80. Others have been still less fortunate. The 44 books of [the Universal History of] Trogus Pompeius have entirely perished.³
⁴ ⁵ All the writings of Fabius Pictor, Fenestella, and of many other Romans, are lost; as also those of innumerable Græcians, as for instance, Theopompus, Ctesias,⁶ Ephorus, &c, &c.⁷

² [I do not know how Rualdus calculates. It appears that, of the original 80 books, the first 35 are lost, with the exception of some fragments, the next 19 are nearly complete; and there is an abridgment of the 6 following, besides Xiphilin's abridgment of the last 20.]

³ [Except as far as may be preserved in the abridgment made by Justinus.]

⁴ Rualdus here mentions, that of [Varro,] the most learned of the Romans, we have only a few volumes. But I scarcely think this a case in point; for I should suppose that a great part of Varro's 500 treatises were lost in the civil wars during the author's life time.

⁵ Rualdus adds that of the 6000 volumes [i. e. books or sermons,] written by that great ecclesiastic Origines, we have not the twentieth part. [Time then has slightly revenged upon the Christian writers, the injuries which their copyists and librarians, and their inquisitors of all kinds, have inflicted upon Philosophers. Recollect, that, in A. D. 449, Theodosius the younger ordered to the flames all works written "contra religiosum christianorum cultum." vid. Lardner's Works, Vol. 4, p. 111. 4to. Edit.]

⁶ [But Photius has preserved a long fragment out of Ctesias.]

⁷ [I have considerably abridged the whole of this paragraph: and perhaps I might have expressed its meaning by saying, that no classical prose writer has come down to us entire; nor even any classical poet, with the exception of Virgilius and[^]Horatius,]

The remaining 25 folio pages of Rualdus's *Life of Plutarchus*, I have not thought worth abridging;¹ but, in order to make a sort of termination to this biographical sketch, I will extract a few apposite passages from Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*. And I will first translate what concerns the death of the great Chæronensian. After saying, that, according to the conjectures of the learned, Plutarchus died in the fourth or fifth year of the reign of Hadrianus, about A. D. 120; Brucker adds:

Artemidorus² tells us, (and let those credit him who will,) that [Plutarchus], when on his death-bed, dreamt that he was ascending into heaven³ under the guidance of Mercurius. This was interpreted to

¹ Still less will I trouble my reader with any portion of the 83 folio pages, in which Rualdus has pointed out 72 (or rather only 52) remarkable mistakes made by Plutarchus, principally in his *Lives*, and as regards historical matters, Wytténbach (*Præfat.* p. cxxii.) applies to the too severe criticism of Rualdus, the saying of Ruhneken, "*odi censores nimium nasutos.*" N. B. I have at last discovered some account of Rualdus; and am ashamed that I had not discovered it, when I began this sketch. Jean Ruault was born about 1580, and died in 1636. He was twice Rector of the University of Paris. Besides his *Life of Plutarchus*, he wrote *Proofs of the history of Yvetot*, and *Panegyrics of St. John the Baptist*, and of *St. Ursula*. *vid. Dict. Hist. and Biogr. Univ.*

² *Oneirocrit.* L. IV, c. 47, p. 245.

³ [Ascensions into the regions of imperceptibility were the fashion in those centuries. A celestial transformation was imagined for that splendid wholesale cut-throat Julius Cæsar. The miracle-worker Apollonius Tyanæus was, according to some authorities, invited up-stairs by sweet-voiced virgins. The ascension of the Syrian God Adonis was annually celebrated (*vid. Lucian., de Syr. D., ch. 6.*). A sort of ascension seems to have been performed in the temple of the Egyptian God Serapis (*vid. Creuzer, Dionys. p. 204*). I have also seen pictures of a very handsome Jew, who is represented as moving centrifugally, towards heaven, or to heaven knows where.]

mean that he was to enjoy the most perfect beatitude. And indeed soon afterwards he departed this life.

The next extract which I will give from Brucker regards the judgment and accuracy of Plutarchus; and I must confess that the Historiographer here seems rather fastidious, though he persists in the same opinion, even in his supplementary volume.

That [Plutarchus] did not enjoy that power of judgment which some persons attribute⁴ to him, is sufficiently shewn by the arguments which he has treated of, by the way of reasoning which he has used, and by the extracts which he has illustrated from the systems of the ancients. For, in what regards [his own compositions,] he has often made use of weak reasons, and light arguments; and, in what regards [historical narrations,] he occasionally perverts the doctrines of the different sects, and attributes to them opinions which they did not profess. As examples of this, [we may refer to] his dissertations on the Epicurean philosophy and on the Platonic doctrine of the soul of the world, which do not agree with the [real] opinions of either Epicurus or Plato: for he wrongly attributes, to Epicurus, the patronage of base and idle voluptuousness; and, to Plato, the admission of a malignant soul, among the physical principles, besides God and Matter. But [Plutarchus] was better acquainted with Ethics

⁴ The praises bestowed upon Plutarchus may be seen in Hanckius, de Rom. rer. script. P. 1, c. 12, p. 81; G. J. Vossius, de Hist. Græc. c. X, p. 208; T. Magirus, Eponym. crit. p. 86, [p. 677-699. edit. 1687.]; Th. Pope Blount, Cens. cel. auct. p. 143, [p. 100, 101, edit. 1690.]; Boecler, bibliograph. crit. pol. p. 652; &c.

than with Physics; and his vast reading has occasionally diminished, and, as it were, suffocated the force of his judgment.⁵ And he has shewn this [judgment] more in his historical, than in his philosophical, arguments. Wherefore, if, as Vossius argues, [Plutarchus] is to be considered as one of the greatest of philologists and historians, (a [question] which we are unwilling to discuss,) yet, at any rate, it is contrary to all truth, to place Plutarchus, as Vossius does, among the greatest of philosophers; inasmuch as his philosophy is bounded by very narrow limits.⁶ Albeit he enjoyed a fertility of genius, and a certain versatile force of imagination which seizes every part of the arguments which he exhibits, and embraces every department of literature. He had also an excellent memory, which, as it was assisted by great industry and immense study, gave him a wonderful knowledge of the best methods of reasoning, and rules of conduct.

These few last lines seem partly to atone for the severity of the former ones; and, in the next page but one, Brucker again speaks favourably of the Chæronensian sage:

⁵ [In many of the early *Christian* teachers erudition appears to have yet more perfectly smothered intellect. But it is the duty of a good Christian to *read*, and not to *think*: for *thinking*, especially *free-thinking*, is apt to occasion dangerous heresies, which would be avoided, if we confined ourselves to *reading*. By *reading*, however, must be understood *orthodox* reading; i. e. the perusal of the works of our spiritual pastors and masters, who have been so unambitiously condescending as to *think* for us.]

⁶ [If, by *Philosophy*, be meant *the invention of new dogmata*, let us thank Plutarchus for having been moderate in this exercise of the imagination. I should like to be informed, whether the world is wiser, for the “intentional species,” the “virtualities,” the “imaginative reactions,” the “vibratiuncles,” and the “transcendental qualities,” of ancient and modern ideologists.]

It is lucky for us, that in so great a loss of ancient writers, most of Plutarch's works have been preserved. [These works] throw a great light, not only on Græcian and Roman History, but also on ancient philosophy, especially as regards ethics.⁷ They also most admirably illustrate philosophical history, altho' it is doubtful whether the treatise "de placitis philosophorum" is really Plutarch's.⁸ At any rate it is universally acknowledged, that these treatises prove [their author to have been a man of] immense reading and remarkable erudition. Hence [Plutarchus] has been greatly praised both by the ancients

⁷ Hence they are divided into Parallel Lives, and Moral Treatises. The best of the *Greek* editions is that of H. Etienne, of the *Greek and Latin*, that printed at Paris in 1624, fol. We have followed the version of William Xylander (a learned man, and our compatriot) printed at Frankfort, 6 vols. 8vo. 1606. Bayle generally follows Amyot's French translation. [This note is taken from the author whom I am "doing into English," as also are all other notes, which are not included in crotchets, or do not contain the name of the author who is undergoing translation.]

⁸ Vossius (*Hist. Græc. L. II. c. 10, p. 210, et de satisfact. J. C. c. 1.*) [argues against the genuineness of the book,] that Plutarchus never mentions it where we should expect that he would; that elsewhere he maintains the contrary: and that he [generally] uses a different method. conf. Jonsius, *L. III, c. 6, p. 234*. But to these conjectures we may justly reply that all the ancients attribute this work to Plutarchus. We will hereafter shew, that the treatise, on the History of Philosophy, attributed to Galenus, is the same, though neither of the treatises is complete. conf. Jons. p. 268. [Wyttenbach says of the *περί των ἀρεσκοντων τοις φιλοσοφοις*: "Spurium opus. Ratio et oratio prorsus abhorrent à Plutarchi ingenio: in materia si quid sit, de quo non statuo, Plutarchei, hoc e perditis quibusdam germanis libris compilatum t." *Præfat. p. 168*. Meiners also (*de vero Deo, p. 246.*) blames the pseudonymous writer's audacity "quâ Deorum numen et providentiam impugnavit, quæque à Plutarchi pietate et moribus longe abhorret."]]

and the moderns. Among these [latter,] Gassendus,⁹ an impartial judge and censor of learned writers, said, that, if all the writings of the ancients were lost, those which we should most lament would be Plutarch's. Theodorus Gaza also has declared, that, if all [the books of ancient writers] were to be thrown into the sea, he would preserve Plutarch's [book] for the last.

Moreover Johannes, Metropolitan of the Euchaitenses, who flourished under Constantinus Monomachus and the Comneni, wrote some verses, adduced by Fabricius, in which [the poet] declares, that, if it were permitted to liberate from hell any infidels to Christianity, he would pray for [the salvation] of Plato and Plutarchus, as having, in their opinions and morals, approximated very nearly to the laws of Christ.¹⁰ This may be too much.¹

Nevertheless the books [of Plutarchus] ought to be most highly esteemed, as a judicious selector may find them a storehouse of ancient erudition. They are also useful and amusing to youth. Wherefore

⁹ In vit. Epicuri, L. III, c. 7, p. 98. Conf. Naudé, Apologie des accusés de magie, p. 194. [p. 169, edit. 1712.] and other authors quoted by Fabricius [Bibl. Græc., Vol. 3,] p. 331.

¹⁰ [These verses cannot be too frequently repeated. I will therefore copy them out from Wyttenbach's preface, p. lxiii:

“ ΕΙΝΕΡ’ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΒΟΥΛΟΙΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩΝ
ΤΗΣ ΧΗΣ ΑΠΕΙΛΗΣ ΕΞΕΛΕΘΑΙ , ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΜΟΥ ,
ΠΛΑΤΩΝΑ , ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΝ , ΕΞΕΛΟΙΟ ΜΟΙ :
ΑΜΦΩ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΣΙ , ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ,
ΤΟΙΣ ΣΟΙΣ ΝΟΜΟΙΣ ΕΓΓΙΣΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΠΕΦΥΚΟΤΕΣ ;
ΕΙ Δ’ ΑΓΝΟΗΣΑΝ ΩΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΣΥ ΤΩΝ ΟΛΩΝ ,
ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΤΗΣ ΧΗΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΔΕΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ,
ΔΙ’ ΗΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΣΩΖΕΙΝ ΘΕΛΕΙΣ .”]

¹ [How too much?—Must the writer of a “Critical History of Philosophy” adopt the intolerant exclusiveness of Anti-Philosophers ?]

we must applaud those learned men, who, for the benefit of youth, have edited separate treatises of Plutarchus; though scholars find some blemishes in them, especially a harshness of language.

As to [Plutarch's] philosophy, although many of the learned have highly praised his judgment, yet, as Lipsius justly says, he is rather an agreeable than an acute teacher; and, as Scaliger says, he wrote more for men of the world than for men of erudition. This certainly is evident, that Plutarchus is not so much a philosopher, as an interpreter of philosophers.² For, in handling an argument, he [first] adopts the principles of some sect, and then, when in a difficulty, turns Sceptic, and leaves the reader in doubt and suspense; rather amusing, than assisting, him, by the [variety] of the opinions [adduced]; and, instead of strengthening his judgment,³ only increasing the history of doctrines, by researches into [the opinions of] every sect. Yet it cannot be denied, that [Plutarchus] has been most favourable to Plato and the old Academia, and that he has philosophized learnedly on these principles, though not always with accuracy, nor agreeably to Plato's

² [The Biographie Universelle says: "Sans doute le fond des meilleurs traités de Plutarque est emprunté à tous les philosophes de la Grèce, dont il n'est, pour ainsi dire, que l'abreviateur. Mais la forme lui appartient; les doctrines qu'il expose ont reçu l'empreinte de son ame; et ses compilations mêmes ont un cachet d'originalité."]

³ [i. e. "strengthening his obstinacy" — a consummation as devoutly to be wished for by the bigot, as it is reasonably to be regretted by the philosopher. Let us thank Plutarchus, if he often leave his reader in doubt and suspense: for scepticism is surely preferable to dogmatism; and, in the acquisition of real knowledge, we can rarely know anything, till we confess that we know nothing.]

meaning. But, on some points, particularly as regards virtue, he has followed Aristoteles; and, as regards the soul, he [has followed] the Ægyptians, or rather the Pythagoreans. In his book “de primo frigido” he has adopted the physiology of Parmenides. Yet often he argues Academically and Sceptically; and was hostile to the Stoics and Epicureans, against both of which sects he wrote express treatises.

But it is uncertain, whether it is a sign of a love of truth and justice, or of some negligence and contempt, that in his various writings he never makes any mention of the Christians.⁴ For we have already shewn,⁵ that the Elpistici⁶ were Stoics, and not, as a certain great scholar⁷ imagined, [of our religion.]

Plutarchus speaks every where prudently and piously concerning the Gods. Nevertheless Petrus

⁴ Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, Tom. 2, p. 477.) says, that [Plutarchus] “did not dare to speak well [of the Christians,] and did not wish to speak ill of them, [as St. Augustinus says of Seneca.]” We would rather attribute Plutarch’s silence to the contempt in which the Christians were held, as being considered illiterate. [See what is said above, in my translation of Rualdus, p. 18.]

⁵ L. II, c. 9. [or rather Per. II, Part. 2, Lib. 1, cap. 1, sect. 3, i. e. Vol. 3, p. 244]; and Misc. Berolin. T. V, obs. ult. [or P. III, n. II, p. 222, &c.]

⁶ [σῦμνος . προβλημ . Lib. IV, Probl. 4, sect. 3:

“ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ προσαγορευέντες ἑλλιστικῶι φιλοσοφοὶ σὺνεκτικώτατον εἶναι τοῦ βίου τὸ ἐλπίζειν ἀποφαινόνται, τῷ ἀπούχῃς ἐλπίδος οὐδ’ ἡγνούχῃς, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι τὸν βίον; οὕτως καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν τροφήν ὀρεξεως σὺνεκτικὸν ὀρετέον, *οὐ μὴ παρόντος, ἀχαρὶς γίνεταί τροφή πασα, καὶ ἀγέσρωτος.”]

⁷ Chr. Aug. Heumann., Act. Philos., Vol. 2, p. 911.

Molinaeus⁸ places him among the enemies of the Deity, for having written a book to shew that Atheism is more tolerable than Superstition. But, not also do many learned men of the present day maintain this doctrine; but also, as Fabricius has well shewn, Plutarchus only says, that some sorts of Superstition are as insulting to the Deity, as Atheism is, and are more fatal to honour, virtue, and [the well-being of] human society, than the mere speculative Atheism of naturally good men. That some of the ancient [Christians] were of the same opinion,⁹ is maintained by the acute writer Pierre Bayle,¹⁰ who has so vigorously combated for the opinion of Plutarchus, as himself almost to fall under a suspicion of Atheism.

The above is Brucker's account of Plutarch's philosophy, as given in the 2nd. volume of the *Historia Critica Philosophia*.¹ In the 6th., or supplementary, volume, Brucker says:

⁸ de *Cognitione Dei*, p. 81. [I should suppose that all this subject is thoroughly investigated in J. J. Zimmerman's "*Dissertatio de Religione Plutarchi*," quoted in the *Catal. Bibl. Bunav.* Tom. 1, Vol. 2. p. 1523, with a reference to the *Museum Helvet.* Tom. 4, Part. 15, p. 379, &c.]

⁹ Epiphanius, Tom. II, p. 13 [edit. 1682, says: *χειρόνων κακονοκτῖα τῆς ἀληθείας*, which the annotator calls "*aureum Epiphanii dictum*; unde constat hæreticos quibusvis infidelibus esse deteriores."]; Arnobius, [B. 4, ch. 34, says: "*rectius multo Deos esse non credere, quam esse illos tales, talique existimatione sentire.*"]

¹⁰ In his *Réponse aux Questions d'un provincial*, and his *Pensées diverses sur la comète*. Conf. Fabric. Syllab.; and Bud-deus de Atheismo, cap. X, §. 2. [or rather cap. IV, p. 250, 251.]

¹ [All the principal matters of fact (independent of the criticisms) contained in Brucker's chapter upon Plutarchus are taken from Fabricius's *Bibl. Græc.* Vol. 3, p. 329–374. I regret that I never had the opportunity of reading a syllable of Fabricius's admirable work, 'till I had written out what Brucker says of the Chæronensian.]

Cudworth¹ accuses Plutarchus of impiety, for maintaining two principles, [1st.] a God, and [2ndly.] a soul without reason, or demon eternally existing, the cause of human evils.² But we think that this opinion cannot be absolutely attributed to Plutarchus, who elsewhere argues justly concerning God. For, altho' in many places, and especially in his book entitled "de Cosmogoniâ secundum Timæum," he may say [as Cudworth states,] yet it is evident that he is [only] speaking historically, and according to the meaning of Plato's Timæus. He himself gives no opinion upon the subject, being doubtful on many points, and often favouring scepticism.

¹ System. Intellect. cap. 4, p. 526, seq. [vol. 1, p. 677, edit. Mosh.]

² [I do not know whether this be *Impiety*, but to me it appears extremely like *Christianity*.]

The following, among other, references for Plutarchus are given by Joh. Fabricius, Bibl., P. 3, p. 70:

König, [Biblioth. vet. et nov. p.] 649.

Whear, Relect. hiemal., p. 74; & Neu, in Accession. 116.

Voss., de Histor. Gr., l. 2, c. 10, p. 120.

Erasmus et alii ap. Crenium, Methodor. T. II.

I had intended here to have given a sort of abridgment of Wyttenbach's Catalogue of the ancient writers who have mentioned Plutarchus; but my prefatory tract has already filled 41 pages, which readers will probably consider as 41 too many; I will therefore content myself with compiling a list of the Biographers of the Chæronensian, none of whom, however, I have been able to inspect except the two first:

Gulielmus XYLANDER, "Vita Plutarchi." præmissa est Tomo I. Operum Plutarchi ex edit. Xylandri, Frf. 1620, fol. [but it probably appeared before, as Xylander died in 1576.]

Johannes RUALDUS, "Vita Plutarchi, et animadversiones in insigniora cφααματα ejus." Paris. 1624.

Decius CELER, "de Plutarchi Chæronei, Philosophi gravissimi, vitâ." Patavii ap. Paul. Frambottum, 1627, 8vo. Thus the Catal. Bibl. Bunav. Tom. 1, Vol. 2, p. 1522. Brucker (Vol. 2, p. 179, note 3,) says the work was published in 1617. I can find no mention of Celer elsewhere.

"Lives of Epaminondas - - - - - Plutarch and Seneca," added to the English Edition of Amyot's translation of Plutarch's Lives, 1631. vid. Biblioth. Brit. Vol. 2, (Part. 1,) p. 764, t.

John DRYDEN, "The Life of Plutarch,"¹ prefixed to a translation of Plutarch's Lives. Lond. 1683. The Bibl. Brit. (p. 764, u.) says: "This is a very indifferent translation, to which Dryden seems only to have lent his name." Nevertheless it was translated into French: for the Catal. Bibl. Bunav. (Tom. 1, Vol. 2, p. 1522,) mentions "La vie de Plutarque, traduite de l'Anglois de Dryden. v. dans le Recueil de Pièces d'Histoire et de Littérature, à Paris, 1738, 12mo. Tom. II, p. 1-97."

Joh. Ern. MULLER, "Programma de Plutarcho." Rudolst. 1697, 4to.

André DACIER, "La vie de Plutarque," à la fin du Tome VIII des Vies de Plutarque traduites en français par André Dacier, à Paris, 1721, 4to. pag. 253-296.

¹ Diderot, in his Essay on the Reigns of Claudius and Nero (Tom. 1, p. 308-314, note 1.), abridges, and answers, Dryden's parallel of Plutarchus and Seneca. In another note (Tom. 2, p. 148-152,) Naigeon gives Montaigne's parallel between these two philosophers. Essais, Livr. II, chap. x. Montaigne makes another short comparison between them in Livr. III, chap. 12.

Revd. John LANGHORNE, "A new Life of Plutarch," with a translation of Plutarch's Lives. Lond. 1770, 8vo.

WYTTENBACH tells us repeatedly that he intended to write a Life of Plutarchus; but it appears, that, if he ever did write one, at any rate his MS. has never as yet been published.

THE following list, of the MSS. and separate editions of Plutarch's treatise on Superstition, is given by Wytttenbach (Vol. 1, p. clix):

"Codices scriptos habuimus x: *Parisienses* quinque, A. C. D. E. G.¹ *Moscuenses* duos. *Venetum*, Num. 511. *Britannicos* duos. *Collegii Novi*, et *Harl.* 5612.

Sallierii notæ Histor. Acad. Paris. Inscript. tom. v. p. 160, et sequ.² habent aliquam doctrinæ commendationem, emendationis nullam.

Latine versus a *Thoma Naogeorgo*, in editione Stephaniana Plutarchi.³

Editiones peculiares duas habuimus: alteram Gallice versi libelli et notis illustrati a *Tanaquillo Fabro*, Salmurii, 8. 1666; ⁴ habet quasdam correctiones e conjectura: cæterum venustum magis, quam doctum, opusculum. Altera est *Chr. Frid. Mat-thæi*, Moscuæ, 8. 1778,⁵ cum animadversionibus Xylandri, Reiskii, suis, variis lectionibus Editionis Græco-Latinæ, et codicum duorum Moscuensium."

¹ I extract from other parts of Wytttenbach's Preface the following account of these MSS.:

- (A) Codex membranaceus [Parisiensis] *Vitarum* et *Moralium*, [scriptus] anno 1296.
- (C) Codex *Moralium*, Bibliothecæ Regiæ Parisiensis. [Sæc. XIV.]
- (D) Codex scriptus [membranaceus] Bibliothecæ Regiæ Parisiensis. [Sæc. XII.]
- (E) Codex membranaceus Parisiensis - - - - præstantissimus - - - ex Codice A exscriptus - - - sed ita - - - ut vetustiora adhiberentur - - - - [Sæcul. XIV.]
- (G) Codex scriptus Bibliothecæ Regiæ Parisiensis [written between the middle and end of the 15th. century.]

² The title is thus given in the Catal. Bibl. Bunav. (Tom. 1, Vol. 1, p. 168): "Claude *Sallier*, Remarques critiques sur le Traité de Plutarque touchant la Superstition."

³ Thomas (Kirchmaier, or as he called himself) "Nao-Geor-

-gus," was a Lutheran, who declaimed violently against the Church of Rome. His translations of some of Plutarch's Treatises were printed at Basle, in 1556, 8vo.

⁴ The title of Lefèvre's book is thus given in Nicéron's *Mémoires* (Tom. 3, p. 120, 121): "Traité de la superstition composé par Plutarque et traduit en François, avec un entretien sur la vie de Romulus." Saumur, 1666, 12mo. Nicéron adds "L'entretien sur la vie de Romulus ne contient que l'histoire de ce Roy jusqu'à l'enlèvement des Sabines." It appears to me, that Lefèvre, as afterwards Matthæi, did not dare to publish Plutarch's *de superstitione* by itself; but tacked to it some treatise upon a totally different subject, by way, I suppose, of gilding the pill.

⁵ The title of Matthæi's publication is thus given in the *Biographie Universelle*, Tom. 27, p. 469: "Plutarchi libellus de superstitione, et Demosthenis oratio funebris in laudem Atheniensium qui pro patriâ pugnando caesi sunt ad Chaeroneam, græcè et latinè." 1779, 12mo. The *Bibliotheca Britannica* (Vol. 2, p. 765, b.) says: "1777, 8vo."

IN the *Biographie Universelle*, at the art. "Ricaud" (the last French translator of Plutarch's works,) there is a long note, written by Villenave, in which, (as far as my eyes can peruse so diminutive a type,) almost, if not entirely, all of Plutarch's moral treatises are mentioned and classified, with the apparently sole exception of the "*de Superstitione*." Wherefore this exception? Is it that the French litterati of the present day, like their brother-hypocrites of England, condescend to employ—that powerful, but shameful, engine of stultification,—a bigotry-begotten silence?

Dr. Watt (at the art. Plutarch), probably misunderstanding a very obscure passage in Chalmers's Dict. (Vol. 9, p. 232,) seems to say, that there is an English translation of Plutarch's "*de Superstitione*" at the end of Strype's *Life of Cheke*. I have, however, inspected a copy of this rare work of Strype's, and have found that it only subjoins Cheke's Discourse on Superstition to King Henry VIII. I suppose, therefore, that Cheke's Latin translation of Plutarch's book has never yet been published.

The only translations which I have ever seen, are 1st. that in Latin by Xylander which is improved by Wytenbach; and 2ndly. that in English, by Baxter, which is a part of the Translation of Plutarch's Moral works, Lond. 1704, 5 vols. 8vo.

THE FOLLOWING
IS
DANIEL WYTENBACH'S
FIRST, OR PREFATORY, NOTE
TO
PLUTARCH'S TREATISE
ON
SUPERSTITION.

THIS book is truly Plutarchean, though it is not expressly mentioned by the ancients. A phrase taken from it, p. 167, A.¹ is quoted by St. Maximus, p. 906, and by Joh. Damascenus, in a MS. [work,] who attribute it to Plutarchus, but without mentioning the name of the treatise. But Plutarchus names himself at p. 170, A.²; and, even if he had not named himself, the appearance and language of the book would have sufficiently proved him to be the writer.

In Lamprias's Catalogue, No. 150, as also in the Venetian copy, we read ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΙΚΟΥΡΟΝ. The words ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΙΚΟΥΡΟΝ excite some doubt. If [therefore the title] be correct, some lost Treatise is meant: for the one which we now possess is not written against Epicurus; but, if the present treatise be meant, then the addition to the title must be spurious.³ I will not, however, deny, but that Plutarchus may have written a work, in which he defended the cause of ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ against Epicurus; as he does to a certain degree in his book, entitled "Non suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum," p. 1101, B, &c⁴; where also he inserts an harangue,

¹ [p. 18 of my reprint.]

² [p. 36 of my reprint.]

³ [But Fabricius (Bibl. Gr., Vol. 3, p. 351) very properly says: " Videntur separanda esse verba προς ελικοῦρον . "]

⁴ [As this passage is very important, I will give a considerable portion of it:

ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΩ , ΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ , ΩΣ ΟΥΧ ΗΤΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΑΘΕΟ-
-ΤΗΣ ΩΜΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΞΟΚΟΛΙΑΣ , ΕΙΣ ΗΝ ΑΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΟΙ ΤΗΝ
ΧΑΡΑΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΓΗΣ ΑΝΑΙΡΟΥΝΤΕΣ . ΒΕΛΤΙΟΝ

against those, who contend, that Epicurus has given better reasons than Plato, for easily and cheerfully dying, p. 1103, E, F. And it is well known, that Plutarchus in his philosophical treatises frequently argues, Academically and Peripatetically, on both sides [of a question]; and inserts in his writings contrary opinions on the same argument; of which habit we have pointed out some proofs, when shewing that Plutarchus was not the author of the “De Educatione Puerorum.”

The present treatise is written “against Superstition,” to shew, that the Superstitious are more grievously in error than Atheists, and entertain a worse idea of the Gods, and act ill even towards themselves: for, that Atheists, although in error, as believing that

ΓΑΡ ΕΝΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΚΕΚΡΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΔΟΞΗ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΙΔΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΥ ΠΛΕΘΟΣ, Η ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΑΣ, ΜΗΤΕ ΕΛΠΙΔΑ, ΜΗΤΕ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΛΥΤΟΙΣ, ΜΗΤΕ ΘΑΡΣΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΩΝ, ΜΗΤΕ ΤΙΝΑ ΔΥΣΤΥΧΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΡΟΦΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΕΙΠΕΣΘΑΙ.

ΔΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΛΕΙ, ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΔΟΞΗΣ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΨΕΩΣ ΑΝΗΜΗΝ, ΑΦΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΝ; ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ, ΜΗ ΣΥΝΕΚΚΟΛΤΕΙΝ, ΜΗΔΕ ΤΥΦΛΟΥΝ, ΤΗΝ ΛΙΣΤΙΝ, ΗΝ ΟΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΙ. ΑΥΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥ ΦΟΒΕΡΑ ΤΙΣ, ΟΥΔΕ ΣΚΥΘΕΡΩΝΗ, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΠΛΑΤΤΟΥΣΙΝ, ΔΙΑΒΑΛΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΠΑΙΣΙΝ ΕΜΠΟΥΣΑΝ, Η ΠΟΙΝΗΝ ΑΛΙΤΗΡΙΩΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΓΙΚΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΗΝ. ΑΛΛ ΟΛΙΓΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΔΕΔΙΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ, ΟΙΣ ΟΥΚ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ ΜΗ ΔΕΔΙΕΝΑΙ; ΔΕΔΙΟΤΕΣ ΓΑΡ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΙΣ ΗΛΙΩΝ, ΑΠΕΧΕΘΗ ΔΕ ΦΑΥΛΟΙΣ, ΕΝΙ ΦΟΒΩ ΔΙ ΟΝ ΟΥ ΔΕΟΥΣΙ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΔΔΙΚΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΤΡΕΜΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΚΙΑΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΑΝΩΜΑΡΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΗΝ, ΗΤΤΟΝ ΤΑΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΛΜΩΝΤΩΝ, ΕΙΤΑ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΔΕΔΙΟΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΟΜΕΝΩΝ. Η ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑΘΩΝ ΟΥ ΠΑΝΥ ΜΟΧΕΡΩΝ ΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΧΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΤΩΙ ΣΕΒΟΜΕΝΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΩΝΤΙ ΜΕΜΙΓΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΣΦΥΓΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΝ, Η ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΚΕΚΑΗΤΑΙ. Plutarchus proceeds to argue in favour of Religion from the joys of (Pagan) festivals. Whether an Anglican, or Presbyterian, Sunday would afford the same argument, I will not take upon me to decide.]

there is no divine power, are yet less in error than [the persons] who suppose the Gods to be evil, and that, by this error, they to a certain degree tend to [make] life more tranquil, in as much, at any rate, as they do not fear the Gods ; but that the Superstitious are so foolish, that, by a perverted species of piety, they fall into the greatest impiety, forming the worst opinions of the Gods, considering them as angry, cruel, and malevolent, and, in consequence of this error, pass their days and nights in perpetual trepidation.⁵

Now Plutarchus has not written this dissertation to praise Atheists ; but, in order to lead the Superstitious into the right path, and to admonish them, that, in avoiding impiety, they must not throw themselves into the vice which is the contrary of Superstition, but that they must follow the virtue which is placed between the two extremes, viz: Piety.

As the whole argument is treated in a more oratorical and popular, than in a dialectical and scientific, manner, and as [the treatise] is almost wholly occupied with the blame of Superstition, without any mention of its praises and advantages, or any accurate and express rules for its cure and prevention ;⁶ therefore am I the more inclined to sup-

⁵ [If this long sentence be considered rough and obscure, all I can say is, that I have translated it as literally as possible, which, in such a delicate subject as Superstition and Atheism, is perhaps the wisest method.]

⁶ Plutarchus proposes remedies for the cure of vices, in most of his other [Moral] Treatises ; as, for instance, in his *περί ἀσχημίας*, in his *περί πολυπραγμοσύνης*, in his *περί δυσωπίας*, in his *περί ἀδολεσχίας*, and in his *περί φιλοπλοουτίας*. [I have brought this passage of Wyttenbach's into a note, *callitypographie gratiâ*: for I have no Greek type which ranges evenly with the small pica of the text.]

-pose, that the present work is [but] the half of a double treatise written on Superstition. ⁷

It is consequently an error, to imagine, that, in this work, the whole of Plutarch's sentiments on Superstition are contained, and that [herein,] that impiety, which the ancients called *Ἀθεότης*, and which the moderns call Atheism, is considered superior to every imaginable species of Superstition. That some persons have been of this opinion is evident--from their being confuted, while Plutarchus is praised, by Tanaquil Faber, in the preface to his French translation of this treatise (p. 30, &c); -- and also from what we read in Pierre Bayle (*Œuvr. Diverses*, Tom. III, p. 120,) Ralph Cudworth (*System. Intell.*, Cap. V, §. 43-45,) and J. A. Fabricius (*Bibl. Græc.*, Vol. III, p. 351,) the last of whom understands Plutarch's proposition with tolerable correctness. Moreover, if my memory does not deceive me, J. Fr. Buddeus, in his book *De Atheismo et Superstitione*, treats upon this question concerning Plutarchus. ⁸

Now I will not venture to oppose my judgment to that of such learned men ; yet I think I can perceive,

⁷ [But surely there is not the slightest authority for such an opinion, which, I suppose, Wyttenbach only advances by way of a screen, or a sedative. However, I will, in some way, atone for this omission of Plutarch's by giving at the end of my volume a catalogue of the works written against Atheism. The importance of printing such a catalogue is very evident. If any person have doubts with regard to the great hypothesis, the occasional perusal of a dozen or two of the works mentioned in my list, will in a very short time, most effectually quiet and compose him.]

⁸ [At p. 250, 251. Likewise, at p. 66, Buddeus mentions, on one hand, that Anthony Collins, in his "Discourse on Freethinking," has inserted Plutarchus among the freethinkers; and, on the other hand, quotes what Richard Simon says of Plutarchus, that he is "si entêté de son paganisme, qu'il est quelquefois religieux jusqu'à la superstition."]

and for Plutarch's sake I will not conceal my opinion, that those who have written on this subject have not paid sufficient attention to definitions⁹ and distinctions.

For, what is Superstition, and what is Atheism? And what are the species and degrees of these [vices]? When these [words] are explained, and compared with one another, we may then understand what sort, or degree, of Atheism, ought to be preferred, or rejected, [as compared with] such, or such, a sort, or degree, of Superstition. But, first of all, it is very difficult to define these words which are the subject of disputation. The word "Atheist" may indeed be easily defined; as its [derivation] shews it to mean "one who supposes that there is no God." But this definition cannot be understood till we declare what we mean by the word "God."

Now it is well known, how much, not only whole nations, but even separate individuals—and not only the vulgar, but even the learned,—differ in their notions and definitions of "God"; so that, the more they [write] upon the subject, the less they agree about it. Suppose, however, that we reduce this definition to the fewest possible terms, and say, that "God is an eternal¹⁰ mind,¹ the creator² and ruler³ of all things.⁴" Some persons will think that this

⁹ [Mankind would never quarrel if they would but *define*. Yet, how few books there are, which begin, like Euclid's Elements, with *definitions*!]

¹⁰ [But if God be retrospectively eternal, what was he doing before he created matter?]

¹ [But what do we mean by the word *Mind*? Do we mean a sort of human brain, composed of all Dr. Spurzheim's 33, or 34, organs?]

[definition] implies too much, others that it implies too little: neither party will consent to be called Atheists, and yet each party will accuse the other of being Atheists. "Certainly, says one party, the idea of God cannot be comprised in so scanty a definition: such a God cannot be the true God.⁵" The other party answers: "You include so many attributes in your idea of the Deity, that it cannot possibly be admitted: such a God is not the true God, and indeed cannot even exist." Such then is the present state of the subject. We are every day hearing that hacknied phrase "The True God"; by which [phrase] every man implies his own [peculiar] notion of the Deity, often that silly [notion,]⁶ so unworthy the supreme power.

And it would be lucky for us, if such [notions,

² [But does this imply absolute creation out of Nothing, or merely the distribution of chaotic Matter?]

³ [But does this imply a peculiar, or a general, providence; and how is it connected with the doctrines of predestination and free-will?]

⁴ [But does the word " things " imply Angels, Devils, &c; or are we to admit the emanation, and absorption, of spiritual substances, in the substance of the Divinity?]

⁵ [The true G-- is our G--; viz. the G-- of the church of England by law established, i. e. Yehouh, the Jewish G--, as orthodoxically trisected into a species of Platonic Deity.]

⁶ [I suppose Wyttenbach alludes to the Painter's G--; an anthropomorphous long-bearded and cloud-supported phantasm, bearing a scandalous resemblance to the pagan Jupiter. Mr. Carlile's picture of the Deity, though founded upon scripture authorities, has not, I believe, as yet received the sanction of the Church; which is the more to be regretted, as mere verbal descriptions are very inferior to visible representations:—accordingly as Horatius has said (ad Pison. v. 180):

" Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus — "]

and such a method of argumentation,] were confined to the unlearned vulgar. But now, philosophers, at any rate persons who wish to be considered as philosophers, talk in the same random style. They dispute about "The True God," yet do not set out with a definition,⁷ considering that to be known by all persons. Afterwards they pronounce, that many of the Grecian and Roman sages were unacquainted with "The True God," and must therefore be considered as Atheists. I may here observe, that this very-commonly-used appellation "The True God" has come to us from the custom of the Church, whose different sects formed, in ancient times, different notions of the Deity, and were therefore in the habit of reproaching, not only the Profane, but even one another, with an ignorance of [The true God,] and [consequently] with $\lambda\theta\epsilon\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$.

Thus much concerning the word "Atheist";⁸ of which we can form no idea, till we have determined our notion of the "Deity."

Nor is the word "Superstition" less arbitrarily used. The etymology and origin of the Latin word is uncertain:⁹ its signification however is not obscure, inasmuch as it answers to the Greek word $\Delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\iota\Delta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$, and is used as [the translation of that word.] Now this Greek word means literally "a fear of

⁷ [I suppose that Wyttenbach alludes to Meiners's Treatise *de vero Deo*, in which, as far as I have read the work, I have not yet met with any express definition of the *verus Deus*,]

⁸ [Upon this word, as also upon the grand word, of which the first word implies a denier, I propose speaking at some length in my appendix.]

⁹ [The word "Superstition" is as great a stumbling block to the Etymologists, as it is to the Theologists. If "Superstitio" be derived from "superstes," then I should think it must imply

Demons," and is used to express "an absurd fear of Gods." It is [therefore] the opposite of "Religion," which implies "a pious worship of the Gods," to use the expression of Cicero (de Nat. Deor. I. 42.)

But [Superstition] itself would be an endless subject, and is not the one before us. Our only desire is to find the interpretation of the name. Therefore, in the word ΔΕΙCΙΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ, we must investigate the meaning of the words "Dæmon" and "Fear." And, in the first place, it is certain, that the word ΔΑΙΜΩΝ was, in ancient times, used as synonymous with the word ΘΕΟΣ, i. e. God, Fate, Chance, Fortune, and Prosperity or Adversity, the causes of which were considered as hidden, and as placed in the power of the Gods. Hence the word ΟΛΒΙΟΔΑΙΜΩΝ means "happy" or "blessed." Such [is the meaning of the word in] Homerus. Hesiodus considers the ΔΑΙΜΟΝΕC as different from the Gods, and inferior to them, Op. et D. 122. Plato also, in his Sympos. p. 327, more particularly makes the Dæmons the messengers and ministers of the Gods. Afterwards the question was more fully agitated; and two sorts of Dæmons were imagined, the Good and the Bad; of which distinction Plutarchus has treated in his "de Defectu Orac.", p. 415, et alib. ¹⁰

The word ΔΕΙCΙΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ, at whatever period it

(not "survance," but, what is probably the original and ante-metaphorical sense of the word, viz:) *standing over*, that is *pre-siding*, or *governing*.[^] Albeit, I wish some oriental scholar would endeavour to find out, in I know not what language, such a word as "shefersted," or "djepershdet," implying "fear" or "reverence."]

¹⁰ [For more information with regard to the word "Dæmons" see Semler de Dæmoniacis, p. 17-21, note; B. Bekker's World Bewitched, p. 14-17, Engl. Tr.; and the references in El. Sched. de Diis Germ. p. 243, 244, note.]

may have begun to be used, referred certainly, at first, both to Gods and Dæmons. But the bad sense gradually prevailed. It is indeed taken in the good sense, as meaning "the observance of the established religion" in certain passages of the ancients: as, for instance, in Xenophon's *Cyropæd.* III, 3. 6; & Agesil. XI, 8; Polyb. VI, 56. 7; though even here, and elsewhere, a middle signification may be retained. Moreover, Hesychius says: \omicron $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$, καὶ δειλός $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, i. e. "a pious man, and fearing the Gods," where Alberti makes some remarks upon the same subject.

But this favourable signification, whatever it may have been, was entirely lost in the usage of the contrary sense. For the words $\phi\omicron\beta\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$, $\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, do not always mean "piety towards God," which is the ecclesiastical meaning;¹ but only refer to one particular department of piety, viz: that abstaining from evil actions which is produced by a fear of divine vengeance.² On this subject, the sayings of the ancients should be consulted, which Cassaubon has inserted in his first note on Theophrastus's *Character of* $\Delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\iota\Delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$.³

Where the whole of piety, and a true affection towards the supreme Deity, is implied, the words [used by Pagan writers] are

$\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, $\tau\iota\mu\alpha\iota\iota$, $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\iota$; $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$, $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\theta\epsilon\omicron\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$.

[These are the words used] in many well-known precepts, as in the Pythagoric Golden verses:

¹ [-- granted, with regard to these words; but, as regards the Trinity and such like mysteries, heretics say, that the *ecclesiastical meaning is no meaning.*]

² [*Divine Vengeance*!--Bone Deus!]

³ [I regret that Astius has apparently only given us the commencement of this note.]

ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΑ ΘΕΟΥΣ , ΝΟΜΩΙ ΩΣ ΔΙΑΚΕΙΤΑΙ ,
ΤΙΜΑ Ι ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒΟΥ ΟΡΚΟΝ . - - - .

And thus Philemon, (as quoted by Stobæus, Eclog. Eth. p. 156, ap. Grot. p. 170) :

ΘΕΟΝ .ΝΟΜΙΖΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒΟΥ , ΖΗΤΕΙ ΔΕ ΜΗ . ⁴

And Phocylides, as he is called :

ΠΡΩΤΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΤΙΜΑ Ι ΜΕΤΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΔΕ ΣΕΙΟ ΓΟΝΗΑΣ .

Wherefore, in the passage of the speech of Isocrates to Demonicus, p. 9 :

ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΦΟΒΟΥ , ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΓΟΝΕΙΣ ΤΙΜΑ , ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΦΙ-
ΛΟΥΣ ΔΙΣΧΥΝΟΥ , ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΝΟΜΟΙΣ ΠΕΙΘΟΥ ,

I should imagine that the author, as speaking the language of the people, wrote : ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΣΕΒΟΥ : for many MSS. give the plural, which seems to have been changed to the singular by Christian copyists.

The stage could admit such an expression as :

ΦΟΒΟΣ ΤΑ ΘΕΙΑ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙ ΒΡΟΤΩΝ :

which is thus blamed by Plutarchus, in his "de Audiend. Poet." p. 34, A :

ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝ ΟΥΔΑΜΩΣ (ΦΟΒΟΣ) , ΑΛΛΑ

ΕΛΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΘΕΙΑ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙ ΒΡΟΤΩΝ :

ΦΟΒΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΦΡΟΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΟΗΤΟΙΣ , ΟΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΤΙΑΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΗΝ , ΩΣ ΒΛΑΠΤΟΥΣΑΝ ΥΦΟΡΩΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΔΙΔΑΙΝ . ⁵

⁴ ["Worship God ; but do not seek him," or, in other words : "worship ye know not what"—good advice in the careless days of paganism. But Christianity and Judaism seem rather to bid us seek the Lord ; and many of us have sought him a very long while indeed.]

⁵ ["And indeed the Deities [are] by no means (a fear,) but an encouragement, to sage mortals. [They are a] fear [only] to fools, to the ungrateful and the unintelligent, who can dread, and look with alarm at, the cause, power, and principle of all good, as if thereby they could be injured. "]

And such expressions are by no means rare, in the works of Plutarchus, Plato, and other philosophers.⁶

Books, now lost, were written by the ancients upon the same subject. Thus: Athenæus (VIII. p. 346, D) quotes a passage from Antipater Tarsensis, the Stoic philosopher, ΕΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΩΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ. We do not agree with Fabricius (Biblioth. Gr. Vol. II, p. 388) in supposing that this author is the Antipater Oneirocrita quoted by Artemidorus, (IV, 67). The book of Theophrastus ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ is quoted by Porphyrius (de Abst. II, 7, 8,) and from him by Meursius (in Theophrasto §. clxxv,) and by Fabricius (Bibl. Gr. Vol. II, p. 249). Seneca wrote a book "contra Superstitiones," as we are told by Augustinus, in his de Civit. Dei, VI, 10. One of the comedies of Menander was entitled ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ, which Cæcilius considered as transcribed from the ΟΙΩΝΙΣΤΗΣ of Antiphanes, according to Porphyrius (ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. X, p. 465, D.).⁷

We have still remaining the Theophrasteian Character of ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ.⁸ We find also many pas-

⁶ [This part of Wytttenbach's note seems to end very abruptly. Was his MS. here defective, or is a censorship exercised at the Clarendon press! I suppose the great critic intended to tell us in what cases the ignorant and benighted worshippers of Jove could use the expression of *fearing* God. Afterwards Wytttenbach would probably have explained, in what sense we must understand Shelma's dogma, that "the *fear* of Yêhouh is the beginning of *wisdom*," whereas, according to Plutarchus, it would rather be the beginning of *folly*. I regret that Wytttenbach has not informed us on these points. I regret also that the Oxford editor, whoever he may be, has not supplied the omission: for, then, we might have derived some learned information, upon a most interesting subject, from that monkish abode, which is the very fountain-head of Orthodoxy.]

⁷ [conf. Fabr., Bibl. Gr., Vol. I, p. 770.]

-sages upon the same subject in Cicero's second book on Divination, and third book on the Nature of the Gods.

⁸ [I may here observe, that both Theophrastus and Plutarchus (in common with Simon, Xenocrates, Straton, Posidonius, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, and Epieurus,') wrote treatises *περί Θε-
-ων*. Vid. No. 79 in Lamprias's Catalogue of Plutarch's works; and (if I have rightly counted,) No. 177 of Laertius's Catalogue of Theophrastus's works. Theophrastus wrote 3 books *περί Θεων*, 6 books *των περί το Θεον ιστοριαι* (No. 176, Laert.) a book entitled *εγκωμια Θεων* (No. 128, Laert.) and another book entitled *περί ευσεβειας* (No. 213, Laert.). Except as far as regards the writing these theological treatises, there are, I think, few points of approximation between Plutarchus and Theophrastus; unless it be that one of the lost treatises of Plutarchus (No. 51, Lampr.) is entitled *περί θεοφραστου προς τους καιρους*, or rather *προς θεοφραστον περί του καιρου*.]

Wytenbach having mentioned the *ancients* who have written on Superstition, I will take the liberty of here adding the names of *of the moderns* who have written on the same subject, chiefly founding my Catalogue on the references given at the art. *Superstition* in the *Biographia Britannica*.

Sir John CHEKE, "De Superstitione, ad Regem Henricum." ¹

Nicolaus HEMMINGIUS, "Admonitio de Superstitionibus Magicis vitandis." Hafn. 1575, 8vo.

Gasp. HOMBERGIUS, "De Superstitiosis Campanarum Pulsibus, ad Eliciendas Preces, quibus Placentur Fulmina, &c." Franc. 1577, 8vo.

Jo. Fred. HERVART, "Admiranda Ethicæ Theologiæ Mysteria Propalata, de Antiquissimâ veterum Nationum Superstitione, quâ Lapis Magnes pro Deo habitus colebatur." Ing. 1623. Monach. 1626, 4to.

Daniel CAWDRY, "A threefold Exercitation with Dr. Ham-

¹ printed at the end of Strype's "Life of Cheke." Lond. 1705, 8vo.

-mons, concerning Superstition, Will Worship, and Christmas Festival." Lond. 1654, 8vo. "Bowling towards the Altar, upon Religious Reasons, implied to be grossly Superstitious." Lond. 1661, 4to.

Tannegui Le FEVRE, "Plutarchus de Superstitione." 1666.

----- WILSON (a Non-conformist), "Nehushtan, or a Discourse concerning the abolishing of Things abused to Superstition and Idolatry." Lond. 1668, 8vo. Anon.

Fortunius LICETUS, "De Monstrorum Causis, Naturâ, et Differentiis." Patav. 1616, 1634, 4to. Et à Blasio, Amst. 1665, 4to. Patav. 1688. This work is replete with instances of Credulity and Superstition.

Joannes BROUN, "--- contra Lamberti Velthusii Sententiam Libertino-Erastianam, de Idololatriâ, et Superstitione." Amst. 1670, 12mo.

Thomas MANNINGHAM, (Bishop of Chichester,) "The Nature and Effects of Superstition, on Acts xvii. 22." 1692, 4to.

Antonius van DALE M. D., "De Origine ac Progressu Idololatriæ." Amst. 1696, 8vo.

Louis de CICÉ, "Lettre aux Jesuites sur les Idolatries et sur les Superstitions de la Chine." 1700, 19mo.

John TOLAND, "Dissertationes duæ; Adeisidæmon, sive T. Livius à Superstitione vindicatus; et Origines Judaicæ." Hagæ-Comitis, 1709, 8vo.

John TRENCHARD, "The Natural History of Superstition." 1709.

Johannes Franciscus BUDDEUS, "Theses Theologicæ de Atheismo et Superstitione." Jenæ, 1717, 8vo.

Caspar. HARTZHEIM, "Explicatio Fabularum et Superstitionum, quarum in S. Scripturis fit mentio." Col. Ag. 1724, 8vo.

Pierre Le BRUN, "Lettres pour prouver l'Illusion des Philosophes sur la Baguette." Paris, 1693. Reprinted in 1702, with many Additions, under the title of "Histoire critique des Pratiques Superstitieuses, &c." Of this there was a new Edition, 1732,² 3 vols. 12mo.; and, in 1737, the abbé Granet printed a collection of Pieces, intended as a fourth volume.

² See also what is said in the Biogr. Brit. at the art. "Thiers, M. Doctor of Theology."

Jean Frederick BERNARD, "Picart's Religious Ceremonies."³ Amst. 1723-43, 9 vols. Fol. "Superstitions anciennes et modernes." 1733-36, 2 vols. Fol. Second Edition of these two last works, 1739-43, 11 vols. Fol. Another Edition by the abbés Banier and Le Mascrier, Paris, 7 vols. Fol. Abridgment, by Poucelin. Paris. 4 vols. Fol. And, lastly, a new edition of the whole, with plates, and an additional volume. 13 vols. Fol.

Rev. W. WESTON, B. D. "Some kinds of Superstition worse than Atheism;" 2 Sermons on Phil. iii. 6. 1739, 8vo.

Henry PIERS, M. A., "Religion and Liberty rescued from Superstition and Slavery, on Psal. cvii, 2." 1746, 8vo.

Samuel CHANDLER, D.D. (an eminent Dissenting Minister,) "St. Paul's Rules of Charity, and his incurableness of Superstition;" a Sermon on 2 Cor. IX, 12. 1748, 4to.

William DODWELL, (Arch Dean of Berks,) "Native Mischiefs, and Remedy of Superstition;" a Sermon on Psal. xxxi, 7. Oxon. 1754, 8vo.

Rev. Thomas DENTON, "The House of Superstition; a Vision." 1762, 4to. Afterwards prefixed by Mr. Gilpin to his Lives of the Reformers.

Christian Frederick MATTHÆI, "Plutarchi libellus de Superstitione, et Demosthenis Oratio funebris - - - - ." ⁴

William BURTON, "Superstition, Fanaticism, and Faction; a Poem." 1781, 4to. 1s.

Thomas MOLE (a Dissenting Minister), "Piety; or the Happy Mean between Profaneness and Superstition." 1782, 8vo.

Jean Louis de LOLME, LL.D. "History of the Flagellants; or Memorials of Human Superstition." 1783, 4to.

Samuel ROGERS (Esq. Banker in London) "An Ode to Superstition, with other Poems." 1786, 4to.

John Christopher ADELUNG, "History of Human Folly; or the Lives of the most celebrated Necromancers, Alchymists, Exorcists, Diviners, &c. in seven parts."⁵ Leipsic. 1785 to 1789.

³ I should have thought this title ought to be in French.

⁴ I have already given this title, p. 44.

⁵ I add this work as probably treating upon all sorts of Superstition.

William COLLINS, "An Ode on the popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland." Lond. 1788, 4to.

Francis GROSE, F. S. A., "A Provincial Glossary, with a Collection of local Proverbs and popular Superstitions." Lond. 1788, 8vo.

T. PRALL, "Superstition; a Moral Essay." 1792. 4to. 1s. 6d.

Revd. M. J. NAYLOR, B. D., "The Insanity and Mischief of Vulgar Superstitions; in four Sermons." Lond. 1795, 8vo.

Revd. Thomas RENNELL, D. D., "Ignorance productive of Atheism, Faction, and Superstition; a Sermon." Lond. 1798, 4to.

Revd. Richard GRAVES, D. D., "Sermons on the following subjects; viz: on the Clerical Character, on Superstition, on Miracles, - - - ." Lond. 1799, 8vo.

Revd. Robert FELLOWES, A. M., "Religion without Cant; a Preservative against Lukewarmness and Intolerance, Fanaticism, Superstition, and Impiety." 1801, 8vo.

Revd. John EVANS, M. A., "The unhappy Effects of Enthusiasm and Superstition; a Sermon." 1804, 8vo.

Joseph STRUTT, "The Test of Guilt; or Traits of ancient Superstition; a Dramatic Tale." Lond. 1808, 4to.

Mrs. GRANT, "Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland. - - - ." Lond. 1811, 2 vols. 12mo.

"A Chronological Table of the Principal Modern Anti-Superstitionists."⁶ Printed by and for William Campion, Richard Hassell, and T. R. Perry, Chapel Yard, Newgate. [Published probably about Nov. 1825.]

"A Dictionary of Modern Anti-Superstitionists - - -."⁷ Lond. Printed and Published by and for R. Carlile, 62, Fleet Street. 1826, 8vo.

⁶ This Chart, as also the under-mentioned Book, is of course not mentioned in the Biogr. Brit.

⁷ This work, which was published in sheets, was discontinued for want of purchasers, and scarcely extends beyond the middle of the letter A.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TREATISE

OF

PLUTARCHUS

CONCERNING

SUPERSTITION.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ.

p. 164, E.
edit.
Hyl.

I. ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΜΑΘΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΝΟΙΑΣ, ΕΥΘΥΣ ἘΞ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΔΙΧΑ
ΡΥΕΙΣΗΣ, ΤΟ ΜΕΝ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΝ ΧΩΡΙΟΙΣ ΣΚΛΗΡΟΙΣ, ΤΟΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΤΥ-
-ΛΟΙΣ ΗΘΕΣΙ, ΤΗΝ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΑ, ΤΟ ΔΕ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΝ ΥΓΡΟΙΣ, ΤΟΙΣ
ΑΠΑΛΟΙΣ, ΤΗΝ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΝ ΕΜΠΕΛΟΙΗΚΕΝ.¹

ΑΠΑΣΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΨΕΥΔΗΣ, ΑΛΛΩΣ ΤΕ² ΚΑΙΝ ΗΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΥ-
-ΤΑ, ΜΟΧΘΗΡΟΝ; ΗΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΘΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΣΤΙ, ΜΟΧΘΗΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ:
ΠΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΛΘΟΣ ΕΟΙΚΕΝ ΑΠΑΤΗ ΦΛΕΓΜΑΙΝΟΥΣΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ³; ΚΑΙ, ΚΑΘΑ-
-ΠΕΡ ΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΚΒΟΛΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΡΕΡΩΝ⁴, ΟΥΤΩΣ ΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ
ΠΛΘΟΥΣ ΔΙΑΣΤΡΟΦΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ, ΧΑΛΕΠΩΤΕΡΑΙ.

ΑΤΟΜΟΥΣ ΤΙΣ ΟΙΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΝΟΝ ΑΡΧΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΛΩΝ? ΨΕΥ-

¹ Geminus fere est locus Plutarchi in Vitâ Alexandri, p. 706. B:

ΟΥΤΩΣ ΔΡΑ ΔΕΙΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΘΕΙΑ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΗ-
-ΣΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ; ΔΕΙΝΟΝ Δ ΑΥΘΙΣ Η ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ, ΔΙΚΗΝ ΥΔΑΤΟΣ
ΔΕΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΑΛΕΙΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΠΑΝΗΡΟΥΝ ΑΒΕΛΗΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΟ-
-ΒΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗ. ΟΥ ΜΗΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙΠΕΡ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΧΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝ-
-ΔΡΟΣ, ΧΡΗΣΜΩΝ ΓΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΟΜΙΣΘΕΝΤΩΝ,
ΑΠΟΘΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΕΝΘΟΣ, ΑΥΘΙΣ ΗΝ ΕΝ ΕΥΣΙΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΟΙΣ.

Exemplum idem refertur in homines adulatoribus deditos, "De
Discern. Adul. ab Amico," p. 66. B:

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΟΛΑΖΙΝ ΕΥΛΗΠΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΑΔΙ-
-ΔΩΣΙΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΣΦΟΔΡΑ ΠΡΟΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΩΝ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΠΙ
ΤΑ ΚΟΙΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΑΚΑ, ΔΙΚΗΝ ΥΔΑΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΙΣΘΕΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ.

² ΑΛΛΩΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ is, I believe, generally translated "especi-
-ally;" yet perhaps I may be right in attempting to retain
the original sense of the word ΑΛΛΩΣ.

³ Nunc Stoicos sequitur. Nam "de Virtute Morali," ubi
Peripateticorum μετριοπάθειαν commendat, vehementiora tan-
-tum πλεον, non item mediocria, inflammata ac tumentia vult

PLUTARCH'S

TREATISE

ON SUPERSTITION.

IGNORANCE and uninstructedness concerning [the] Gods may be [compared to a river] divided into two streams ; one of which, as in stubborn soils, (that is refractory minds,) produceth Atheism ; and the other of which, as in marshy soils, (that is soft and flexible minds,) produceth Superstition.¹ Now every false judgment, even when in other² cases than these, is [nevertheless] pernicious ; but it is still more pernicious, when it is connected with some passion. For every passion seemeth to be an inflamed error ;³ and, as dislocations of the limbs are more dangerous at the same time there is a wound, so also mental errors are more dangerous when attended by any passion.

Doth a person imagine, that the Universe hath its origin only in Atoms and a Vacuum ? The conjec-

dici (p. 452. A) :

ΟΙΔΟΥΝΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΟΙΚΕ ΚΑΙ ΦΛΕΓΜΑΙΝΟΝΤΙ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΛΛΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΧΑΡΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΛΥΠΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ , ΟΥ ΤΟ ΧΑΙΡΟΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΤΟ ΛΥΠΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΤΟ ΦΟΒΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ .

¹ Ionicam dictionem tenet Herodotus (111, 129) de Dario loquens :

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΝ ---- ΣΤΡΑΦΗΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΔΑ : ΚΑΙ ΚΩΣ ΙΣΧΥΡΟΤΕΡΩΣ ΕΣ-
-ΤΡΑΦΗ : Ο ΓΑΡ ΟΙ ΑΣΤΡΑΓΑΛΟΣ ΕΞΕΧΩΡΗΣΕ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΕΩΝ :

quod Dio Chrys. bis referens (p. 231, B ; et 652, E) omittit
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΕΩΝ .

-ΔΗΣ Η ΥΠΟΛΗΨΙΣ , ΑΛΛΑ ΕΛΚΟΣ ΟΥ ΠΟΙΕΙ , ΟΥΔΕ ΣΦΥΓΜΟΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΟΔΥΝΗΝ ΤΑΡΑΤΤΟΥΣΑΝ . ΥΠΟΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ? ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ ΙΟΝ ΕΧΕΙ⁵ , ΝΕΜΕΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ , ΕΞΙΣΤΗΣΙΝ , ΟΥΚ ΕΛΙ ΚΑΘΕΥΔΕΙΝ , ΟΙΣΤΡΩΝ ΕΜΠΙ- ΠΛΗΣΙΝ , ΩΘΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΤΡΩΝ⁶ , ΑΓΧΕΙ , ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΝ ΑΦΑΙ- ΡΕΙΤΑΙ . ΠΑΛΙΝ , ΟΙΟΝΤΑΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΩΜΑ⁷ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΕΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΚΙΑΝ ; ΔΙΣΧΡΟΝ ΙΣΩΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΝΟΗΜΑ , ΘΡΗΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΔΥΡ- ΜΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΖΙΟΝ . ΑΛΛ ΑΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑΙ ΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟ- ΛΗΨΕΙΣ :

“⁸ Ω ΤΑΗΜΟΝ ΑΡΕΤΗ , ΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΡ ΗΣΘ , ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΣΕ
ΩΣ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΗΣΚΟΥΝ , - - - -

ΑΦΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΛΟΙΟΝ ΑΔΙΚΙΑΝ , ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΟΝΙΜΟΝ ΑΠΑΣΗΣ ΗΔΟ- ΝΗΣ ΑΚΟΛΑΣΙΑΝ !” ΤΑΥΤΑΣ ΑΖΙΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΙΚΤΕΙΡΕΙΝ ΟΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣ- ΧΕΡΑΙΝΕΙΝ ; ΟΤΙ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΝΟΣΗΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΘΗ , ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΕΥΛΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΩΛΗΚΑΣ , ΕΝΤΙΚΤΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΨΥΧΑΙΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑΙ .

II. ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΩΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ , Η ΜΕΝ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΣ , ΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΟΥΣΑ ΦΑΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΝ , ΕΙΣ

⁵ Sic Plutarchus “Præcept. Reip.” p. 819. E :

-- ΦΙΛΟΠΛΟΥΤΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΑΝ , ὥς περ σιδήρων καὶ μέστων ἰοῦ νόσημα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποδύσμενος .

Dio Chrys. Or. 78. p. 663. A :

-- ΨΥΧΗ ΔΙΕΦΘΑΡΜΕΝΗ : ΜΑ ΔΙΑ , ΟΥΧ ΥΠΟ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΝ Η ΠΟΤΩΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΥΠΟ ΙΟΥ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΔΙΕΣΘΙΟΝΤΟΣ , ΑΛΛ ΥΠΟ ΤΕ ΑΓΝΟΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΝΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΘΟΝΟΥ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΠΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΡΙΩΝ ΕΛΙΘΥΜΙΩΝ .

Horatius, de Art. Poet. v. 330.

- - - ad hæc animos ærugo et cura peculi
cum semel imbuerit - - -

⁶ Ductum est ex Theognidis dicto, 177, on poverty,

ἥν δὴ χρὴ φεγγόντα , καὶ εἰς μεγακτέα πόντον
πίπτειν , καὶ πέτρων , κύρνε , κατ ἡλιβατῶν .

⁷ Stoicorum placitum, qui omnes vires et qualitates corpo-
reas statuerunt.

⁸ Dio Cassius (XLVII. 49.) says of Brutus :

- - - ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΕΦΥΓΕ , ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΒΟΗΣΑΣ ΤΟ

-ture is false; but it inflicteth no wound, no palpitation, no tormenting sorrow. [But,] doth any one conjecture that money is the summum bonum? This falsity is, [as it were,] poisonous,⁵ it preyeth upon the mind, alienateth it, preventeth it from sleeping, filleth it with fury, debaseth it,⁶ stiflcth it, enslaveth it.

Again: do some persons imagine that virtue and vice are substances?⁷ Such an error is perhaps disgraceful, but it is not such a one, as we should lament and deplore. But what are those judgments and conjectures, [which excite a man to say]:

⁸ "Oh Virtue, thou art but a name,

Yet I did long believe in thine existence,⁹

and have quitted [for thee] injustice which might have enriched me, and intemperance which produceth every pleasure?" We cannot but lament and even feel angry with such [opinions,] because they produce many disorders and passions in the mind, [which are] like ulcers and worms [to the body].

II. To apply these observations to the subject before us, [I may remark, that] Atheism, being a false opinion that there is nothing [perfectly] blessed and

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ :

"Ω ΤΑΗΜΟΝ ΑΡΕΤΗ , ΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΡ ΗΣΘ ; ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΣΕ
ΩΣ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΗΣΚΟΥΝ ; ΣΥ Δ ΑΡ ΕΔΟΥΛΕΥΕΣ ΤΥΧΗΙ ,"

ΠΑΡΕΚΑΛΕΣΕ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΟΝΤΩΝ , ΙΝΑ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΠΟΚΤΕΙΝΗΙ .

This passage is no longer to be found in the remains of any Greek Tragedian. Fortasse ob impietatis speciem à Grammaticis deletum.

⁹ I am no poet. But those persons who must have rhyme, may take Baxter's translation:

"Poor Vertue! thou wast but a name, and meer jest,
And I, choust fool, did practise thee in earnest."

ΑΠΑΘΕΙΑΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΤΗΙ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΝ ; ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΥΤΗΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ ΘΕΟΥΣ , ΤΟ ΜΗ ΦΟΒΕΙΣΘΑΙ ; ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝΥΕΙ ΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ , ΔΟΞΑΝ ΕΜΠΛΑΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΝ ΥΠΟΛΗΨΙΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ ΕΚΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΤΡΙΒΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ , ΟΙΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΕΟΥΣ , ΕΙΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΠΗΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΛΑΒΕΡΟΥΣ . ΕΟΙΚΕ ΓΑΡ Ο ΜΕΝ ΑΘΕΟΣ ΑΚΙΝΗΤΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ : Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝ , ΚΙΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΩΣ ΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΕΙ ΔΙΑΣΤΡΕΦΕΣΘΑΙ . Η ΓΑΡ ΑΓΝΟΙΑ ΤΩΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΩΦΕΛΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΕΜΠΛΟΙΗΚΕ , ΤΩΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΞΑΝ ΟΤΙ ΒΛΑΠΤΕΙ ΠΡΟСТΕΘΕΙΚΕΝ . ΟΘΕΝ Η ΜΕΝ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΔΙΕΨΕΥΣΜΕΝΟΣ ; Η ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΠΛΘΟΣ ΕΚ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΨΕΥΔΟΥΣ ΕΓΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΟΝ .

III. ΔΙΣΧΡΑ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΝΟΣΗΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΘΗ ; ΤΟ ΔΕ ΓΑΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΙΟΙΣ ΟΜΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΨΗΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΗΙΡΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝΕΣΤΙΝ ΥΠΟ ΚΟΥΦΟΤΗΤΟΣ ; ΔΡΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΟΡΜΗΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ , ΩΣ ΕΠΟΣ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ , ΑΠΕΣΤΕΡΗΤΑΙ . ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΠΛΘΟΥΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ , ΟΤΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑΙΣ ΟΡΜΑΙΣ ΕΚΒΙΑΖΟΜΕΝΑ , ΚΑΤΕΠΕΙΓΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΤΕΙΝΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΝ . ΜΟΝΟΣ ΔΕ Ο ΦΟΒΟΣ , ΟΥΧ ΗΤΤΟΝ ΩΝ ΤΟΛΜΗΣ ΕΝΔΕΗΣ Η ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΥ , ΑΠΡΑΚΤΟΝ ΕΧΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΗΧΑΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΑΛΟΓΙΣΤΟΝ ; ΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΒΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΣΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑΤΟΝ ΩΝΟΜΑΣΤΑΙ . ΦΟΒΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΠΡΑΚΤΟΤΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΡΩΤΑΤΟΣ Ο ΤΗΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ . ΟΥ ΦΟΒΕΙΤΑΙ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ Ο ΜΗ ΠΛΕΩΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ Ο ΜΗ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ , ΟΥΔΕ ΑΝΙΣΤΑΣ Ο ΟΙΚΟΥΡΩΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΝ Ο ΠΕΝΗΣ , ΟΥΔΕ ΦΘΟΝΟΝ Ο ΙΔΙΩΤΗΣ , ΟΥΔΕ ΣΕΙΣΜΟΝ Ο ΕΝ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΙΣ , ΟΥΔΕ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΝ Ο ΕΝ ΑΙΘΙΟΨΙΝ ¹⁰ . Ο ΔΕ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΔΕΔΙΩΣ , ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΕΔΙΕ ,

¹⁰ Similarly Plinius, Hist. Nat. II. 80.

“ Et autumnō et vere, terræ crebrius inveniuntur, sicut fiunt fulmina. Ideo Gallia et Ægyptus minime quatiuntur; quoniam hic æstatis caussa obstat, illic hiemis.”

Stobæus, Eclog. Physic. p. 67:

ΕΝ ΧΩΡΑΙΣ , ΟΣΑΙ ΝΙΦΕΤΩΔΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΨΥΧΡΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΟΣΑΙ ΑΝ ΚΕΚΛΥΜΕΝΑΙ ΥΠΟ ΗΛΙΟΥ , ΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΗΠΤΟΥΣΙΝ ; ΟΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΗΨΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΕΛΥΜΑΤΙ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΙ , ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΕΝ ΚΕΛΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡ ΔΙΓΥΛΤΙΟΙΣ .

immortal, seemeth, by its denial of the Deity, to lead to a sort of apathy; and the consequence, of not believing that there are Gods, is, the not fearing them.

The word ΔΕΙΣΙΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ [or "Superstition"] implieth an impassioned thought, and conjecture full of fear, which humbleth and depresseth man; and [maketh him] suppose indeed that there are Gods, but [that they delight in] causing grief and misery.

For the Atheist appeareth to be unaffected towards the Deity; while the Superstitionist [appeareth indeed] to be affected, [but only] in a perverse manner. For ignorance produceth in the [Atheist,] a disbelief that [God] is benevolent; and in the Superstitionist, an opinion that [God] is cruel. Whence it followeth, that Atheism is indeed a false opinion; but that Superstition is an [evil] affection of the mind originating in a false opinion.

III. Of a truth, all the disorders and passions of the mind are disgraceful; yet, in some, there is a sort of levity which produceth boldness, sublimity, and highmindedness. It may also be said that there is no [passion] that is deficient in an impulsive principle. And indeed, it is an accusation that may be brought against all the passions, that being urged on by active forces, they oppress and exhaust reason. Fear alone, being as devoid of boldness as of reason, maketh that which is irrational [in us] idle, stupid, and perplexed; whence it is called [by the Greeks] ΔΕΙΜΑ, because it bindeth, and ΤΑΡΒΟΣ, because it disturbeth, the mind. And there is no sort of Fear so fatal to occupation, and so productive of perplexity, as Superstition. He that remaineth on dry land, feareth not the storm; he that goeth not to the war, feareth not the battle; and he that leaveth not his house, feareth not the highwaymen. Neither doth

ΓΗΝ , ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ , ΑΕΡΑ , ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ , ΣΚΟΤΟΣ , ΦΩΣ , ΚΛΗΔΟΝΑ ,
 ΣΙΩΠΗΝ , ΟΝΕΙΡΟΝ . **Π**ΟΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΑΙ
 ΚΑΘΕΥΔΟΝΤΕΣ , ΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΔΗΤΑΙΣ ΕΠΕΛΑΦΡΥΝΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΕΣΜΟΝ Ο ΥΠ-
 -ΝΟΣ , ΦΛΕΓΜΟΝΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΑΙ ΣΑΡΚΟΣ ΘΗΡΙΩΔΕΙΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΩΔΥΝΙΑΙ ΚΟΙΜΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΦΙΣΤΑΝΤΑΙ . ¹

“ὡ φίλον ὕπνου θελήτηρον ἐπικούρον νοσοῦ ,

ὥς ἥδ' μοι προσήλθες ἐν δεοντί γε ! ” ²

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΟΥ ΔΙΔΩΣΙΝ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ Η ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ : ΜΟΝΗ ΓΑΡ ΟΥ
 ΣΠΕΝΔΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΥΠΝΟΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΤΗ ΨΥΧΗ ΠΟΤΕ ΓΟΥΝ ΔΙ-
 -ΔΩΣΙΝ ΑΝΑΠΝΕΥΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΘΑΡΡΗΣΑΙ , ΤΑΣ ΠΙΚΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΕΙΑΣ
 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΟΞΑΣ ΑΠΩΣΑΜΕΝΗ . ΑΛΛ , ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΝ ΑΣΕΒΩΝ
 ΧΩΡΩΙ ³ , ΤΩΙ ΥΠΝΩΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ , ΕΙΔΩΛΑ ΦΡΙΚΩΔΗ ,
 ΚΑΙ ΤΕΡΑΣΤΙΑ ΦΑΣΜΑΤΑ , ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΝΑΣ ΤΙΝΑΣ , ΕΓΕΙΡΟΥΣΑ , ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΟ-
 -ΒΟΥΣΑ ⁴ ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΙΑΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ , ΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΝΩΝ ΕΚΔΙΩΚΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΝ-

¹ Wyttenbach supposes, that, in this sentence, either the thought of the thing is put for the thing itself; or that other-wise φλεγμοναί περί τραύματα και νομαί σαρκος θηριώδεις και περιωδυνιαί should be taken in the sense of περιωδυνιαί φλεγμονών περί τραύματα και νομών σαρκος θηριώδων .

² Euripides, *Orest.* v. 208.

³ Thus Æschines, or whoever was the author of the Dialogue entitled *Axiochus* §. 21:

ΟΣΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΖΗΝ ΔΙΑ ΚΑΚΟΥΡΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΗΛΑΘΗ , ΑΓΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ
 ΕΡΙΝΝΥΩΝ ΕΠ ΕΡΕΒΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΥ . ΕΝΘΑ ΧΩΡΟΣ
 ΑΣΕΒΩΝ ¹ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑΝΤΑΛΟΥ ΔΙΨΟΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΙΤΥΟΥ ΣΠΛΑΓΧΝΑ , ΚΑΙ ΣΙ-
 -ΣΥΦΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΑΝΗΝΥΤΟΣ .

Virgilius, *Æn.* V, v. 734:

“ . . . non me impia namque

Tartara habent, tristes umbræ; sed amœna piorum
 concilia Elysiumque colo . . . ”

Lucianus, *Necyomant.* T. I, p. 472:

Ο Δ ΟΥΝ ΜΙΝΩΣ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΣ ΕΖΕΤΑΖΩΝ ΑΠΕΠΕΜΠΕΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ
 ΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΩΡΟΝ ^{ΔΙΚΗΝ} ¹ ΥΦΕΖΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΤ ΑΞΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΤΟΛΜΗΜ-
 -ΕΝΩΝ .

⁴ Sic Plutarchus, “ *De Cupidit. Divitiar.* ” p. 525. D:

ΣΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΣΑΥΤΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΕΧΕΙΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑΤΤΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΟ-
 -ΒΕΙΣ ΣΕΛΑΥΤΟΝ .

the poor [individual] fear flattery, nor the humble [individual] fear envy. The Gaul feareth not earthquakes, nor the Ethiopian thunderbolts.¹⁰ But he, that feareth Gods, feareth all these things,—earth, sea, air, heaven, darkness, light, noise, silence, dreams.

In sleep, the slave forgetteth his master, the captive feeleth not the weight of his fetters, and [the sick man] experienceth a mitigation even of inflamed wounds, and of cruel and excruciating ulcers.¹

“O sleep, thou balmy soother of disease,
How opportunely thou hast come to me!”²

But the Superstitionist is incapable of saying this. For [Superstition] alone maketh no truce with sleep; nor doth she, now and then, permit the mind to reject its bitter and oppressive thoughts about God, and [consequently] to respire and take courage. But, as it were in the shades below,³ she exciteth, against the sleep of the Superstitious, frightful images, and monstrous visions, and certain [unknown] punishments; and thus agitateth⁴ the wretched soul with dreams, that drive away real repose: for [Supersti-

----- “Numa” p. 68. D:

ΛΟΙΜΩΔΗΣ ΝΟΣΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΪΟΥΣΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ ΕΣΤΡΩΒΗΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΡΩ-
ΜΗΝ.

Ennius, apud Ciceronem De Senect. init:

“----- curamve levasso

Quæ nunc te coquit et versat sub pectore fixa.”

Horatius Epist. II. 2. 90. (according to the reading proposed by Bentley):

“Qui minus argutos versat furor iste poetas.”

Propertius III. 17. 12:

“Spesque timorque animum versat utroque modo.”

-ΕΙΡΟΙΣ , ΜΑΣΤΙΖΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΥΦ' ΑΥΤΗΣ , ΩΣ
ΥΦ' ΕΤΕΡΟΥ , ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΝΑ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΟΚΟΤΑ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΥ-
-ΣΑΝ . ΕΙΤ ΕΞΑΝΑΣΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΥ ΚΑΤΕΦΡΟΝΗΣΑΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΕΓΕΛΑΣΑΝ ,
ΟΥΔ ΗΣΘΗΣΑΝ ΟΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΑΡΑΖΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΗΝ ΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΝ , ΑΛΛΑ
ΣΚΙΑΝ ΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΑΤΗΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΗΣ , ΥΠΑΡ⁵ ΕΞΑΠΑ-
-ΤΩΣΙΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΠΑΝΩΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑΤΤΟΥΣΙΝ , ΕΙΣ ΑΓΥΡΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ
ΓΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΕΜΠΕΣΟΝΤΕΣ , ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑΣ :

“ ΑΛΛ ΕΙΤ ΕΝΎΔΝΟΝ ΦΑΝΤΑΣΜΑ ΦΟΒΗΙ ,

ΧΘΟΝΙΑΣ Θ ΕΚΑΤΗΣ⁶ ΚΩΜΟΝ⁷ ΕΔΕΞΩ ,⁸

ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝ ΚΑΛΕΙ ΓΡΑΥΝ , ΚΑΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΟΝ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΘΑ-
-ΛΑΣΣΑΝ⁹ , ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΙΣΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΓΗ ΔΙΗΜΕΡΕΥΣΟΝ .”

Ω ΒΑΡΒΑΡ ΕΞΕΥΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΚΑΚΑ !¹⁰

ΤΗ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΙ , ΠΛΗΩΣΕΙΣ¹ , ΚΑΤΑΒΟΡΒΟΡΩΣΕΙΣ , ΣΑΒΒΑΤΙΣ-

⁵ Frequentissimâ conjunctione, γὰρ, *vigiliæ*, et *onar*, *som-
nium*, *opponuntur*.

⁶ De Hecates terreculis similiter auctor libri “ De Morbo
Sacro ” inter Hippocrateos p. 303:

ΟΚΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΜΑΤΑ ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΙΑΙ
ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΠΗΝΗΣΕΙΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΛΙΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΗΤΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΕΥΓΙΕΣ ΕΞΩ ,
ΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΦΑΣΙΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΩΩΝ ΕΦΟΔΟΥΣ . ΚΑΘΑΡ-
-ΜΟΙΣΙ ΔΕ ΧΡΕΟΝΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΑΝΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΩΤΑΤΟΝ ΠΟΙΕΣΥ-
-ΣΙΝ , ΩΣ ΕΜΟΙ ΓΕ ΔΟΚΕΙ : ΚΑΘΑΙΡΟΥΣΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ
ΤΗ ΝΟΣΩΙ , ΑΙΜΑΣΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΟΙΣΙ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΜΙΑΣΜΑΣΙΝ ,
ΕΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΛΑΣΤΟΡΑΣ , Η ΛΕΦΑΡΜΑΓΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΥΠΟ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ , Η
ΤΙ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΝΟΣΙΩΝ ΕΙΡΓΑΣΜΕΝΟΥΣ .

⁷ Thus Euripides, *Bacch.* v. 1166:

- - ΔΕΧΕΣΘΕ ΚΩΜΟΝ ΕΥΪΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ . [*ΕΥΪΟΝ Hermann.*]

⁸ Videntur Comici esse Tragicum imitantis.

⁹ Mare efficacissimum ad lustrationem olim credebatur.
Thus Euripides, *Iphigen. Taur.* v. 1192:

ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ ΚΛΥΖΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ Τ' ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΚΑΚΑ .

after citing which passage, Stobæus (*Tit. IV*, p. 53) hoc scho-
-lion habet:

ΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΑΣ , ΟΙ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΚΑΘΑΙ-
-ΡΟΝΤΑΙ .

Sic reîs cædis et exul, Platonis sententia *Leg. IX*, p. 657. C:
ΣΚΗΝΩΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΝ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΗ ΤΕΓΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΔΑΣ , ΠΛΟΥΝ ΕΠΙ-

-tion] maketh [the soul] to be beaten and buffeted by itself as if by another [person,] and forceth it to receive oppressive and absurd directions. Moreover, when [superstitious men] awake, they do not despise or ridicule [their dreams,] nor do they perceive that what tormented them had no real [existence ;] but, fleeing from the shadow of a harmless deceit, they deceive [their imaginations,] even when broad awake,⁵ [till] they completely exhaust and torment themselves. They [even] fall into the hands of jugglers and impostors, who say :

“ If some nocturnal phantasm doth affright thee ;
or if, from the terrestrial Hecat,⁶
thou hast a visit⁷ been receiving,⁸

then send for some old woman to perform expiations, and dip thyself in the sea,⁹ and sit for some [hours] on the ground.”

“ Alas, that Græcians should adopt
vile customs, fitted only for barbarians ! ”¹⁰

[It is owing] to Superstition, that men roll themselves in the dirt,¹ thrust themselves into dunghills,

-ΦΥΛΑΤΤΕΤΩ .

¹⁰ Euripides, *Troad*, v. 759.

¹ Herodotus, II. 85, *Ægyptiorum notat luctum* :

ΤΟ ΘΗΛΥ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΠΑΝ ΤΟ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΟΙΚΗΪΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ , ΚΑΤ ΩΝ ΕΛΛΑ-
-ΣΑΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝ ΠΗΛΩΙ , Η ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ .

ubi Valckenarius eadem fere iisdem verbis a Diodoro Sic. (I. 72.) dicta apponit.

Demosthenes, “ *De Corona*, ” p. 350. A :

ΚΑΘΑΙΡΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ , ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΜΑΤΤΩΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΗΛΩΙ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΤΥΡΟΙΣ , ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΑΡΜΟΥ , ΚΑΙ ΚΕΛΕΥ-
-ΩΝ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ :

“ ΕΦΥΓΟΝ ΚΑΚΟΝ , ΕΥΡΟΝ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ . ”

Philo Judæus, “ *De Special. Leg.* ” p. 792. D :

ΚΑΚΟΤΕΧΝΙΑ , ΗΝ ΜΗΝΑΓΥΡΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΩΜΟΛΟΧΟΙ ΜΕΤΙΑΣΙ , ΚΑΙ ΓΥ-

-μοῦς , ρίψεις ἐπὶ ἄνθρωπον , αἰσχρὰς προκαθίσεις² , ἄλλο-
-κοτοῦς προσκύνῃσεις .

ΔΙΚΑΙΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΣΤΟΜΑΤΙ³ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΙΘΑΡΩΙΔΟΥΣ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΟΝ ΑΙΔΕΙΝ ΟΙ
ΤΗΝ ΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΝ ΣΩΖΕΙΝ ΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ; ΗΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ
ΘΕΟΙΣ ΑΖΙΟΥΜΕΝ ΟΡΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΣΤΟΜΑΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ ;
ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΠΛΑΓΧΝΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΓΛΩΤΤΑΝ⁴ , ΕΙ ΚΑΘΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ
ΟΡΘΗ , ΣΚΟΠΕΙΝ ; ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΣΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΛΥΝΟΝ-
-ΤΑΣ , ΑΤΟΛΟΙΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙ , ΚΑΙ ΡΗΜΑΣΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΟΙΣ⁵ , ΚΑΤΑΙΣΧΥΝΕΙΝ
ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΑΖΙΩΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΑΣ .

ΑΛΛ ΟΓΕ ΚΩΜΙΚΟΣ⁶ ΟΥΚ ΑΝΔΩΣ ΕΙΡΗΚΕ ΠΟΥ , ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑ-
-ΧΡΥΣΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΤΑ ΚΛΙΝΙΔΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΡΓΥΡΟΥΝΤΑΣ , ΟΤΙ “ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΔΩ-
-ΚΑΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΠΡΟΙΚΑ ΤΟΝ ΥΠΝΟΝ ; ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΕΣ
ΣΕΑΥΤΩΙ ΠΟΙΕΙΣ ; ” ΕΣΤΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ ,
ΟΤΙ “ ΤΟΝ ΥΠΝΟΝ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΕΔΟΞΑΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑ-

-ΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΑΠΟΔΩΝ ΤΑ ΦΑΥΛΟΤΑΤΑ , ΠΕΡΙΜΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑ-
-ΘΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΤΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΛΟΜΕΝΑ .

Plutarchus, “ Quæst. Rom.” p. 280. B:

ΤΗ ΕΚΑΤΗ ΣΚΥΛΑΚΙΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΩΝ ΕΚΦΕΡΟΥΣΙ ,
ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΜΑΤΤΟΥΣΙ ΣΚΥΛΑΚΙΟΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΝΙΣΜΟΥ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ .

Aristides, “ Or. Saer.” T. I. p. 307, in eâdem superstitione :
ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΖΕ ΧΡΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΠΝΑΩΙ , ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΦΡΕΑΤΙ ΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΩΙ ,
ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΘΕΝ . ΠΑΡΕΣΧΟΝ ΟΥΝ ΘΕΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ . ΤΟ-
-ΣΑΥΤΗ Δ ΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΠΝΑΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΡΟΣ Η ΨΥΧΡΟΤΗΣ , ΩΣΤΕ
ΕΡΜΑΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΟΙΝΣΑΜΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΔΡΑΜΕΙΝ ΤΩΙ ΦΡΕΑΤΙ ; ΚΑΙ ΜΟΙ ΤΟ ΥΔΩΡ
ΑΝΤ ΑΛΛΗΣ ΑΛΕΑΣ ΗΡΚΕΣΕ .

² Plato, Leg. IX. p. 652. F, in pœnis numerat :
ΤΙΝΑΣ ΑΜΟΡΦΟΥΣ ΕΔΡΑΣ , Η ΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ , Η ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΙΕΡΑ .

³ “ Ore justo,” id est, “ antiquæ musicæ diligenter et accu-
-ratè jus suum tribuendo ”—formula non alibi nobis observata.

⁴ That is, I suppose, some linguiform part of the liver. The
word σπλᾶγχνα sometimes means the spleen, liver, and heart. (vid.
Potter's Antiq. Vol. 1, p. 271.) So also in Latin the word *viscera*
implies whatever is under the hide (vid. Adam's Antiq. p. 325.)?

⁵ Thus Lucianus, “ De Neeyomant.” T. I. p. 469:

Ο ΔΕ ΜΑΓΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩΙ ΔΑΙΔΑ ΚΑΙΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΕΧΩΝ , ΟΥΚΕΤ ΗΡΕ-
-ΜΑΙΤΑΙ ΤΗΙ ΦΩΝΗ , ΠΑΜΜΕΓΕΘΕΣ ΔΕ , ΩΣ ΟΙΟΣ Τ ΗΝ ΑΝΑΚΡΑΓΩΝ ,

observe sabbaths, throw themselves on their faces, seat themselves before [the temples,]² and practise absurd prostrations.

Those who imagined, that they kept up the genuine art of musick, directed the players on the harp to sing with an even mouth.³ And we also recommend [religious people] to pray to the Gods with a composed and regular countenance ; and while we are examining whether the tongue upon the entrails⁴ [of the victim] is pure and straight, we should not roll about, and distort, our own [tongues,] by pronouncing absurd names and barbarous phrases,⁵ disgracing and perverting the divine religion [established on] the authority of our forefathers.

But the Comic writer⁶ hath not inelegantly said, against those who ornament couches with gold and silver: "Why dost thou make sleep expensive, whereas sleep is the only blessing which the Gods bestow upon us gratuitously." Similarly [we] may say to the Superstitionist: "Why dost thou make sleep a perpetual torment and pain, whereas sleep is

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑΣ ΤΕ ΟΜΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΕΠΕΒΟΑΤΟ , ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΝΑΣ , ΚΑΙ ΕΡΙΝ-
-ΝΥΣ , ΚΑΙ ΝΥΧΙΑΝ ΕΚΑΤΗΝ , ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΙΝΗΝ ΠΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΕΙΑΝ . ΠΑ-
-ΡΑΜΙΓΝΥΣ ΑΜΑ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΑ ΤΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΗΜΑ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΣΥΛ-
-ΛΑΒΑ .

- - - - - Pseudomant . " T. II, p. 221 :

Ο ΔΕ ΦΩΝΑΣ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΑΣΗΜΟΥΣ ΦΘΕΓΓΟΜΕΝΟΣ , ΟΙΔΙ ΓΕΝΟΙΝΤΑΝ ΑΝ
ΕΒΡΑΙΩΝ Ή ΦΟΙΝΙΚΩΝ , ΕΞΕΠΛΗΤΤΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ , ΟΥΚ ΕΙΔ-
-ΟΤΑΣ Ο ΤΙ ΛΕΓΟΙ .

Porphyrus (ap. Euseb. " Praep. Evang. " V. p. 196. D :)

ΠΩΣ ΑΝ ΕΙΕΝ ΘΕΟΙ ΜΑΓΓΑΝΕΙΑΙΣ - - - ΚΑΙ ΤΙΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΑΣΗΜΟΙΣ
ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΟΙΣ ΗΧΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΦΩΝΑΙΣ ΚΗΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ - - ?

- - - - - ib. p. 198. D :

ΤΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΑΣΗΜΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΣΗΜΩΝ ΤΑ
ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑ ΠΡΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΩ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΝ ?

⁶ Credo Menandrum significari, quamquam alibi sententiam citatam non reperimus.

-ΛΑΨΙΝ⁷ ; ΤΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΟΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΣΑΥΤΩ ΠΟΙΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΜΟΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΔΥΝΗΡΟΝ , ΤΗΣ ΔΕΛΙΑΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΝ ΥΠΝΟΝ⁸ ΑΠΟΔΡΑΝΑΙ ΜΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΗΣ ? ”

Ο ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΦΗΣΙ , “ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΓΡΗΓΟΡΟΙΣ ΕΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΚΟΣ- ΜΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ , ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΟΙΜΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΙΔΙΟΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΡΕ- ΦΕΣΘΑΙ ” . ΤΩΙ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ ΚΟΙΝΟΣ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΚΟΣ- ΜΟΣ : ΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΓΡΗΓΟΡΩΣ ΤΩΙ ΦΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΙ ΧΡΗΤΑΙ , ΟΥΤΕ ΚΟΙΜΩ- ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΛΛΑΛΑΤΤΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΟΣ : ΑΛΛ ΟΝΕΙΡΩΤΤΕΙ ΜΕΝ Ο ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ , ΕΓΡΗΓΟΡΕ ΔΕ Ο ΦΟΒΟΣ ΔΕΙ : ΦΥΓΗ ΔΕ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΜΕΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ .

IV. ΗΝ ΦΟΒΕΡΟΣ , ΕΝ ΣΑΜΩΙ , ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ : ΗΝ , ΕΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΩΙ , ΠΕΡΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ : ΑΛΛ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΦΟΒΕΙΤΟ ΤΟΥ- ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΤΑΣΤΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ . Ο ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ , ΩΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΔΑ ΦΟΒΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΚΥΘΡΩ- ΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΑΡΑΙΤΗΤΟΝ , ΠΟΥ ΜΕΤΑΣΤΗΙ , ΠΟΥ ΦΥΓΗΙ ? ΠΟΙΑΝ ΓΗΝ ΑΘΕΟΝ ΕΥΡΗΙ , ΠΟΙΑΝ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ ? ΕΙΣ ΤΙ ΚΑΤΑΔΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΜΕΡΟΣ , ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΚΡΥΨΑΣ ΣΕΛΥΤΟΝ , Ω ΤΑΛΛΙΠΩΡΕ , ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΕΙΣ ΟΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΑΠΟΠΕΦΕΥΓΑΣ ?⁹

ΕΣΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ¹⁰ , ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ ΑΠΟΓΝΟΥΣΙ , ΠΡΑΣΙΝ ΑΙΤ- ΕΙΣΘΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΛΕΙΝ ΕΠΙΕΙΚΕΣΤΕΡΟΝ . Η ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙ- ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΛΛΑΓΗΝ ΟΥ ΔΙΔΩΣΙΝ : ΟΥΔ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΥΡΕΙΝ ΟΝ ΟΥ ΦΟΒΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΘΕΟΝ , Ο ΦΟΒΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΩΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΟΥΣ , Ο ΦΡΙΤΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥΣ : ΤΡΕΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΔΟΙΚΩΣ ΠΑΡ ΩΝ ΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΘΑ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΝ , ΕΥΠΟΡΙΑΝ ,

⁷ Hanc Plutareheam admonitionem opportune Davisius con- tulit cum Ciceronis gravissimo loco. (Divinat, II. 72 :) “ Per- fugium videtur omnium laborum et sollicitudinum esse som- nus; at ex ipso plurimæ curæ metusque nascuntur—.” Sed totus in ipso libro locus legendus est.

⁸ I should wish to erase this second γυπνον, and to consider that there is some word understood after αλλον, as after ετερογυ in p. 10, lin. 2.

⁹ The Israelitish Hymnographer celebrates the universal pow- er of his Deity under the apparent influence of more amiable ideas. vid. Psalm. 139, v. 7. &c.

¹⁰ I do not understand this (Athenian) Law, which I sup-

bestowed upon us by the Gods,⁷ that, when [our] wretched souls can have recourse to no other [comforter]⁸ our cares may cease and be forgotten ? ”

Heraclitus saith, that “ those who are awake enjoy one world in common, but that those who sleep inhabit each of them a separate [world] ”. But the Superstitious [man] hath no world in common [with other men]: for, when awake, he doth not enjoy his right senses, and, when asleep, he is not liberated from [the dream] which tormenteth him ; but, while the principle of reason is torpid, the principle of fear is ever active, and there is no fleeing from it and no removal.

IV. The tyrant Polycrates was feared at Samos, and so was Periander at Corinth ; but they were feared by no one, who had removed into a State, where freedom and democracy were established. But, whither can he escape, who looketh upon the government of the Gods as a morose and inexorable tyranny ? What land, [or] what sea, shall he find, that hath not [its] God ? Wretched being ! Into what part of the universe wilt thou go down and hide thyself, in the belief that thou wilt have escaped the Deity ?⁹

Slaves, who have renounced freedom, are entitled, by law,¹⁰ to demand a sale, and can [thus] obtain a milder master ; but Superstition will not allow a change of Gods ; nor can a God, that shall not occasion terror, be found by any one, who feareth paternal and genethliacal [deities,] and who dreadeth the [Gods, called] Saviours, and [those called] Propitious : for he regardeth with fear and trembling, those beings of whom we ask wealth, plenty, concord,

-pose the slave could only avail himself of, in very particular cases. Perhaps the conditions may be explained in the works referred to by Wytttenbach.

ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ , ΟΡΘΩΣΙΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΓΩΝ .

ΕΙΤΑ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΤΟ ΔΟΥΛΕΥΕΙΝ ΑΤΥΧΗΜΑ ΗΓΟΥΝΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ :

“ ΔΕΙΝΗ ΤΙΣ ΑΝΔΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΣΥΜΦΟΡΑ ,
ΔΟΥΛΟΥΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ , ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΔΥΣΤΥΧΕΙΣ
ΛΑΒΕΙΝ : - - - ” ¹

ΠΟΣΩΙ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΝΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΙΕΘΕ ΠΑΣΧΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ² , ΑΝΕΚΦΕΥΚ-
-ΤΟΥΣ , ΑΝΑΠΟΔΡΑΣΤΟΥΣ , ΑΝΑΠΟΣΤΑΤΟΥΣ ! . ΕΣΤΙ ΔΟΥΛΩΙ ΦΕΥ-
-ΞΙΜΟΣ ΒΩΜΟΣ , ΕΣΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΛΗΙΣΤΑΙΣ ΔΕΒΗΛΑ ³ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ;
ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ ΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΕΣ , ΑΝ ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΟΣ ΛΑΒΩΝΤΑΙ Η ΝΑΟΥ ,
ΘΑΡΡΟΥΣΙΝ . Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΦΡΙΤΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ
ΦΟΒΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΔΟΙΚΕΝ , ΕΝ ΣΙΣ ΟΙ ΦΟΒΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΑ ΔΕΙΝΟΤΑΤΑ
ΤΑΣ ΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ ΕΧΟΥΣΙ . ΜΗ ΑΠΟΣΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ ΤΩΝ
ΙΕΡΩΝ ; ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΚΟΛΑΖΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΩΡΕΙΤΑΙ .

ΤΙ ΔΕΙ ΜΑΚΡΑ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ? ΠΕΡΑΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΑΝΕΡΩΠΟΙΣ
Ο ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ⁴ ; ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ , ΟΥΔ ΟΥΤΟΣ ; ΑΛΛ
ΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΕΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΡΟΥΣ ΕΠΕΚΕΙΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝ , ΜΑΚΡΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ
ΒΙΟΥ ΠΟΙΟΥΣΑ ΤΟΝ ΦΟΒΟΝ , ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΑΠΤΟΥΣΑ ΤΩΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΩΙ ΚΑ-
-ΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΝΟΙΑΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩΝ ; ΚΑΙ ΟΤΕ ΠΑΥΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ , ⁵ ΑΡ-

¹ Somewhat similarly Euripides, *Medea*, v. 54 :

ΧΡΗΣΤΟΙΣΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣ ΞΥΜΦΟΡΑ ΤΑ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΩΝ
ΚΑΚΩΣ ΠΙΤΝΟΥΝΤΑ , ΚΑΙ ΦΡΕΝΩΝ ΑΝΘΑΠΤΕΤΑΙ .

Philemon, ap. Stob. Tit. 60, p. 384 :

ΚΑΚΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΔΟΥΛΩΙ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΠΡΑССΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΣ :
ΜΕΤΕΧΕΙΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ .

Aristophanes, *Plut.* v. 1 :

ΩΣ ΑΡΓΑΛΕΟΝ ΠΡΑΓΜ ΕΣΤΙΝ , Ω ΖΕΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΙ ,
ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΦΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΥ !

² Wyttenbach supposes that we perhaps ought to read :

ΠΟΣΩΙ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΝΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΙΕΘΕ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΔΥΣΤΥΧΕΙΣ ΔΕΣΠΟ-
-ΤΑΣ , ΑΝΕΚΦΕΥΚΤΟΥΣ , Κ . Τ . Λ .

³ I take these words in the same sense as Baxter does. But Xylander, tacitly followed by Wyttenbach, translates : “ multa sunt quæ à latronibus non violantur templa . ”

peace, [and the] direction of [our] words and actions.

Again: [Slaves] consider their slavery a misfortune, and say:

“How dreadful a calamity it is
for man or woman to become a slave,
and be subservient to ill-tempered masters.”

But, how much more severely they suffer,² who are subservient to masters, that cannot be fled from, that cannot be avoided, that cannot be removed!

An altar is a refuge for a Slave; even for robbers many of the temples are sanctuaries;³ and those who flee from the enemy take courage if they can clasp hold of an image or shrine. But these very things, in which those who fear the greatest dangers place their confidence, are objects of dread, fear, and alarm to the Superstitionist. Drag not away the Superstitious [man] from the temples, for it is there that he is punished and tormented.

But I will come to another argument. Death, which is to all men the termination of life,⁴ is not [the termination] of Superstition. She passeth over the limits of existence, prolonging fear beyond life, and joining to death the consideration of eternal misery, and imagining that when [transitory] affairs⁵

⁴ The phrase is apparently taken from Demosthenes, Orat. pro Corōnā, p. 326. C:

ΠΕΡΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΑΣΙΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ Ο ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ, ΚΑΙΝ ΕΝ ΟΙΚΙΚΩΙ ΤΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΘΕΙΡΪΑΣ ΤΗΡΗΙ; ΔΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΥΣ ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΕΓΧΕΙΡΕΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΝΑΣΙΝ ΔΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΙΣ, ΤΗΝ ΑΓΑΘΗΝ ΠΡΟΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΛΠΙΔΑ, ΦΕΡΕΙΝ ΔΕ Ο ΤΙ ΑΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΔΙΔΩ ΓΕΝΝΑΙΩΣ.

⁵ Might we not perhaps read ΠΑΡΑΓΟΜΕΝΩΝ instead of ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ?

-ΧΕΘΑΙ ΔΟΚΟΥΣΑ ΜΗ ΠΑΥΟΜΕΝΩΝ .

ΑΙΔΟΥ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΑΝΟΙΓΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΥΛΑΙ ΒΑΘΕΙΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΙ ΠΥΡΟΣ ΟΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΥΓΟΣ ΑΠΟΡΡΩΓΕΣ ΑΝΑΠΕΤΑΝΝΥΝΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ ΕΦΗΛΩΤΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΦΑΝΤΑΣΤΟΝ⁶ , ΕΙΔΩΛΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ , ΧΑΠΕΛΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΨΕΙΣ , ΟΙΚΤΡΑΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΑΣ , ΕΠΙΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ , ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΙ ΔΕ , ΚΑΙ ΚΟΛΑΣΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΧΑΣΜΑΤΑ , ΚΑΙ ΜΥΧΟΙ , ΚΑΚΩΝ ΜΥΡΙΩΝ ΓΕΜΟΝΤΕΣ⁷ . ΟΥΤΩΣ Η ΚΑΚΟΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ , ΚΑΙ [Ο ΤΩΙ]⁸ ΜΗ ΠΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΚΠΕΦΕΥΓΕΝ , [ΑΦΥΛΑΚΤΟΝ , ΤΩΙ] ΠΡΟΣΔΟΚΑΙΝ , ΑΥΤΗΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΕ .⁹

V. ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΣΤΙΝ : ΑΛΛ Η ΜΕΝ ΑΓΝΟΙΑ ΧΑΛΕΠΗ , ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΡΑΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΦΛΩΤΤΕΙΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΛΙΚΑΥΤΑ , ΣΥΜΦΟΡΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΨΥΧΗΣ , ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΜΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΤΟ ΦΑΝΩΤΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΝ , ΑΠΕΣΒΕΣΜΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΟΗΣΙΝ . ΤΑΥΤΗΙ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΕΜΠΛΘΕΣ , ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΙΡΗΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΕΛΚΩΔΕΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ , ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΔΕΔΟΥΛΩΜΕΝΟΝ , ΕΥΘΥΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΣΤΙ ΤΗΙ ΔΟΞΗΙ .¹⁰

ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΝ ΦΗΣΙΝ Ο ΠΛΑΤΩΝ¹ , ΕΜΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΥΘΜΙΑΣ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΝ , ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΥΠΟ ΘΕΩΝ , ΟΥ ΤΡΥΦΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΗΝΣΕΩΣ ΩΤΩΝ ΔΟΘΗΝΑΙ , ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΤΑΡΑΧΩΔΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΠΛΑΝΗΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ , ΜΟΥΣΗΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΣ ΕΝΔΕΙΑΙ , ΠΟΛΛΑΧΗ , ΔΙ ΑΚΟΛΑΣΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΗΜΜΕΛΕΙΑΝ , ΕΞΥΒΡΙΖΟΝ , ΑΥΘΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΞΙΝ ΑΝΕΛΙΤΤΟΥΣΑΝ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΑΓΟΥΣΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΙΝΑΙ .

⁶ This reminds me of the "darkness visible" of Milton, *vid.* *Par. Lost*, B. 1, v. 63; where the annotators refer to Euripid. *Bacch.* v. 510, and Senec. *Epist.* 57.

⁷ The English word *groaning* may, I think, be here used to express the double sense of the Greek word *remein*, viz: "re-pletion and lamentation."

⁸ I have adopted the reading proposed by Xylander and Wyttenbach. The common reading is *καὶ θεῶι τὸ μὴ πλθεῖν ἐκπεφεύγεν ἀφύλακτῶι προσδοκῶν αὐτῇ πεποίηκε*: of which, I suppose, no sense could be made. I must observe that I have translated *ἀφύλακτον* as if it were a false reading for *ἀφύκτον*. Xylander seems to translate "calamitosum."

⁹ Similiter, in alia re, Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 64. p. 593. C :

are terminated, interminable ones begin!

[Therefore] are certain vast gates of Hades opened, and rivers are spread out with waves of fire and of hatred, and a darkness full of phantasms⁶ is brought on, and ghosts with horrible countenances and screeching voices; and there are judges too, and executioners, and chains, and dens groaning⁷ with infinite tortures. Thus hath wretched Superstition rendered for herself by anticipation, that [very period] inevitable,⁸ which she avoideth by ceasing to suffer!⁹

V. There are none of those [miseries] in Atheism. Yet [certainly] ignorance is blameable; and the overlooking, and shutting-one's-eye's-upon, matters of such importance, is a great calamity for the soul, which is extinguished as regardeth the knowledge of God, as if [towards] what appeareth extremely clear, and proper, to most [other] eyes. But, in this opinion, [viz. Atheism,] are¹⁰ there those perturbations, diseases, troubles, and servitudes, which I have above described [as belonging to Superstition]?

Plato saith,¹ that Music, which is the maker of concord and agreement, was given by Gods to Men, not to tickle the ear and produce luxury, but that the motions and harmonies of the soul, when disturbed and wandering in the body, from the absence of [the] Muses and [the] Graces, might be recalled to their former consent and conformity.

Η ΤΥΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΩΙ, ΤΟ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΠΑΘΕΙΝ ΠΕΡΙΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΗ, ΤΟ ΔΓ-
-ΝΟΕΙΝ ΕΔΩΚΕΝ, ΟΠΕΡ ΟΜΟΙΟΝ ΗΝ ΤΩΙ ΜΗ ΠΑΘΕΙΝ.

¹⁰ I have ventured (in the English) to read this sentence interrogatively, which seems to me to render unnecessary the negation introduced by Stephanus, and the remote reference imagined by Wyttenbach.

¹ Non ex uno Platonis loco sumta, sed pluribus in libris

“ ΟΣΑ ΓΑΡ ΜΗ ΠΕΦΙΛΗΚΕ

ΖΕΥΣ - - -

(ΕΦΗ ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ)²

- - - - ΑΤΥΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΒΟΑΝ

ΠΙΕΡΙΔΩΝ Δ΄ΟΝΤΑ - - - : ”

ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΑΓΡΙΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ . ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΙΓΡΙΣ ΦΑΣΙ ΠΕΡΙ-
-ΤΥΜΠΑΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΑΣ ΕΚΜΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑΤΤΕΣΘΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΑΥ-
-ΤΑΣ ΔΙΑΣΠΑΙΝ .

ΕΛΑΤΤΟΝ ΟΥΝ ΚΑΚΟΝ , ΟΙΣ , ΔΙΑ ΚΩΦΟΤΗΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΗΡΩΣΙΝ ΑΚΟΗΣ ,
ΑΠΑΘΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΑ ΣΥΜΒΕΒΗΚΕΝ . Ο ΤΕΙ-
-ΡΕΣΙΑΣ ΕΧΡΗΤΟ ΔΥΣΤΥΧΙΑΙ , ΜΗ ΒΛΕΠΩΝ ΤΑ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΜΗΔΕ ΤΟΥΣ
ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΣ³ ; Ο ΔΕ ΑΘΑΜΑΣ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΙ , ΚΑΙ Η ΑΓΑΥΗ , ΒΛΕΠΟΝ-
-ΤΕΣ ΩΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΑΦΟΥΣ . ΚΑΙ⁴ ΤΩΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΔΗΠΟΥ ΜΑ-
-ΝΕΝΤΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΥΙΕΙΣ ΕΛΥΣΙΤΕΛΕΙ ΜΗΤΕ ΙΔΕΙΝ , ΜΗΤΕ ΑΙΣΘΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΑ-
-ΡΟΝΤΑΣ , Η ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΑΤΟΙΣ ΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΙΣ .

VI. ΤΙ ΟΥΝ ? ΟΥ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΣΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΘΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ
ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΑΣ ΠΑΘΟΣ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΑΝ ? ΟΙ
ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΧ ΟΡΩΣΙ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΤΟΠΑΡΑΝ , ΟΙ ΔΕ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ ΚΑ-
-ΚΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΥΣΙΝ⁵ ; ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΡΟΡΩΣΙΝ , ΟΙ ΔΕ ΔΟΞΑΖΟΥΣΙ ΦΟ-
-ΒΕΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΟΝ , ΚΑΙ ΒΛΑΒΕΡΟΝ
ΤΟ ΚΗΔΕΜΟΝΙΚΟΝ , ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΜΙΚΤΟΝ⁶ ΑΓΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΗΡΙΩΔΕΣ .
ΕΙΤΑ ΧΑΛΚΟΤΥΠΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΙΘΟΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΘΟΞΟΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΗΡΟΠΛΑΣ-

sparsim tradita, indeque collecta sunt. - - - Plurima tamen ex
Timæo, p. 533. E.

² Pyth. I. 25. [only, there, it is ΟΣΑ ΔΕ ΜΗ - - -]

³ Tiresiam cœcum novimus; sed eum non vidisse filios suos
et familiares, idque miseratum esse, non videtur ex aliquo po-
eta sumtum, sed à Plutareho ita positum, ut cum videntium
furentiumque exemplis componeretur.

⁴ Is not the particle ΑΝ wanting in this sentence?

⁵ Thus Seneca, Epist. 123. fin :

“ Superstitio error insanus est ; amandos timet, quos colit vio-
-lat. Quid enim interest, utrum Deos neges, an infames? ”

Pindar² saith:

“Those in whom Jove doth not delight,
are troubled, when they hear the Muses’ voice,”

for indeed they become angry and indignant [at it.] So also it is said, that Tigers, when drums are beaten around them, will become so furious, as, at last, to tear each other to pieces.

They therefore suffer less, who, through defect of hearing, or from [absolute] deafness, are insensible to music, and are [therefore] unmoved by it. Tiresias was very unfortunate, in not being able to see his children or his friends³; but Athamas and Agave were still more unfortunate, who took [their children and friends] for lions and deer. It would also have been better for Hercules, when he was distracted, if he could have neither seen his children, nor have been aware of their presence, than that he should have treated, as enemies, those whom he loved so dearly.

VI. What then? Doth there not appear to thee a similar difference in the state of the Atheist’s mind [as compared] with that of the Superstitionist’s? The former seeth not the Gods at all; the latter believeth their existence, but at the same time their malevolence.⁵ [The Atheist] indeed overlooketh them; but the [Superstitionist] mistaketh [their] mildness for terror, [their] paternal affection for tyranny, [their] care for injuriousness, and [their] imperturbability⁶ for savageness and brutality.

Moreover, [Superstitionists] suffer themselves to be persuaded, by workmen in copper, stone, and wax,

⁶ Wytenbach modestly retains in the text the word ΑΜΙΚΤΟΝ ‘tho’ he shews that it evidently ought to be changed to ΑΜΗΝΙ-ΤΟΝ, the meaning of which last word I have therefore given (or attempted to give) in the English.

-ΤΑΙΣ ΑΝΕΡΩΛΟΜΟΡΦΑ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΠΛΑΤΤΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΖΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΟΥΣΙ : ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΟΥΣΙΝ , ΑΠΟΔΕΙΚΝΥΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΜΝΟΤΗΤΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΗΤΟΣ , ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΡΟ-
-ΣΥΝΗΣ , ΚΑΙ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΙΑΣ , ΚΑΙ ΚΗΔΕΜΟΝΙΑΣ .

ΠΕΡΙΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥΝ , ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΩΦΕΛ-
-ΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΛΩΝ , ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΑΡΑΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΩΦΕΛΟΥΝ-
-ΤΑ . ΚΑΙ ΟΛΩΣ , Η ΜΕΝ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΣ ΑΠΑΘΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ
ΕΣΤΙ , ΜΗ ΝΟΟΥΣΑ ΤΟ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ; Η ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ , ΠΟ-
-ΛΥΠΑΘΕΙΑ⁷ , ΚΑΚΟΝ ΤΟ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΥΠΟΝΟΟΥΣΑ : ΦΟΒΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ
ΘΕΟΥΣ , ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΥΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ : ΚΟΛΑΚΕΥΟΥ-
-ΣΙΝ⁸ , ΚΑΙ ΛΟΙΔΟΡΟΥΣΙΝ ; ΕΥΧΟΝΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΜΕΜΦΟΝΤΑΙ .

ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΝΕΡΩΛΩΝ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΙΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΝ .

“ΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΣΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΗΡΑΟΙ , ΠΟΝΩΝ ΤΕ ΑΠΕΙΡΟΙ ,
ΒΑΡΥΒΟΑΝ ΠΟΡΘΟΜΟΝ ΠΕΦΕΥΓΟΤΕΣ ΑΧΕΡΟΝΤΟΣ , ⁹”

Ο ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ¹⁰ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΦΗΣΙ : ΤΑ ΔΕ ΑΝΕΡΩΛΙΝΑ ΠΑΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΓ-
-ΜΑΤΑ ΜΕΜΙΚΤΑΙ ΣΥΝΤΥΧΙΑΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΤΕ ΑΛΛΩΣ ΡΕΟΥΣΑΙΣ .

VII. ΦΕΡΕ ΔΗ , ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΒΟΥΛΗΤΟΙΣ , ΣΚΟΠΕΙ ΤΟΝ Α-
-ΘΕΟΝ , ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΜΑΝΘΑΝΕ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΝ : ΕΑΝ ΗΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΜΕΤΡΙΟΣ ,
ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΥ ΣΙΩΠΗΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙ , ΚΑΙ ΠΟΡΙΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ-
-ΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΗΓΟΡΙΑΣ : ΑΝ ΔΕ ΔΥΣΦΟΡΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΥΠΑΘΗΙ , ΠΑΝΤΑΣ

⁷ Rarius vocabulum, factum ad imitationem ΑΠΑΘΕΙΑΣ. Sic Sympos. IX, p. 731, A:

Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑ ΛΟΥΤΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΠΑΘΕΙΑ .

Item πολυπαθής [infra, cap. XIV, lin. 1.] de ipsâ Superstitione.

⁸ Igitur acute Maximus Tyrius superstitiosum in adulatori-
-bus censet (Diss. XX. 6, p. 241 :)

- - Ο ΜΕΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣ ΘΕΩΙ . Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΟΛΑΖ
ΘΕΟΥ . ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ Ο ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ , ΦΙΛΟΣ ΘΕΩΙ : ΔΥΣΤΥΧΗΣ ΔΕ
Ο ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ , ΚΟΛΑΖ ΘΕΟΥ .

⁹ It seems unknown in what metre these lines are written.

¹⁰ Bis sine Pindari nomine, reposuit Plutarchus, in Amato-
-rio, p. 783, C; et de Communib. Not. adv. Stoic. p. 1075, A.

that the bodies of the Gods are anthropomorphous; and [accordingly] they fabricate, ornament, and worship them, as such; and they despise philosophers and statesmen, who describe the venerable nature of the Deity, by [giving him the attributes of] goodness, magnanimity, mildness, and protective-ness.

[Atheists] therefore, neither perceive nor credit the excellent [things] which would be useful [to them; and [Superstitionists] change what would be useful to them into a cause of trouble and fear. And, in short, Atheism is apathetical as regardeth the Deity, and is incapable of perceiving the [summum] bonum; while Superstition is polypathetical,⁷ and mistaketh the [summum] bonum for [the summum] malum. [The Superstitionist] is afraid of the Gods, yet hath recourse to the Gods. He flattereth them,⁸ and yet reproacheth them. He prayeth to them, and yet accuseth them.

No Mortal can be always happy. It is with reference [only] to the Gods that Pindarus¹⁰ saith:

“ They have no illness, no old age;
no labour they endure;
nor are they obliged to pass
the deeply-sounding Acheron.”

But human passions and actions are liable to a multiplicity of uncertain accidents.

VII. Now, first in things not under the disposal of his volition, consider the Atheist and observe his behaviour. If he is [a man] of a forbearing temper, he endureth the present events in silence, and endeavoureth to provide himself with assistance and consolation. But, if he is [a man] of fretful and im-

ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΤΥΧΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟΜΑΤΟΝ ΑΠΕΡΕΙΔΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΔΥΡ-
-ΜΟΥΣ , ΚΑΙ ΒΩΩΝΤΟΣ , ΩΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΚΗΝ , ΟΥΔ ΕΚ ΠΡΟ-
-ΝΟΙΑΣ , ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΣΥΓΚΕΧΥΜΕΝΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΡΙΤΩΣ ΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ
ΣΠΑΘΑΤΑΙ ¹ ΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ .

ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ ΟΥΧ ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΤΡΟΠΟΣ : ΑΛΛ ΕΙ ΚΑΙ
ΜΙΚΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΤΟ ΣΥΜΠΛΕΤΩΚΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ , ² ΑΛΛΑ ³ ΚΑΘΗ-
-ΤΑΙ ΠΑΘΗ , ΧΑΛΕΠΑ , ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ , ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΑΠΑΛΛΑΚΤΑ , ΤΗΙ
ΛΥΠΗΙ ΠΡΟΣΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΩΝ , ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΜΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΔΕΙΜΑΤΑ , ΚΑΙ
ΦΟΒΟΥΣ , ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΨΙΑΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑΧΑΣ , ΠΑΝΤΙ ΘΡΗΝΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΙ
ΣΤΕΝΑΓΜΩΙ ³ ΚΑΘΑΠΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ : ΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ , ΟΥΤΕ ΤΥΧΗΝ ,
ΟΥΤΕ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ , ΟΥΘ ΑΥΤΟΝ , ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΑΙΤΙΑ-
-ΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΕΠ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΗΚΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΕΡΕΣΘΑΙ ΡΕΥΜΑ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ
ΑΤΗΣ ΦΗΣΙ : ΚΑΙ , ΩΣ ΟΥ ΔΥΣΤΥΧΗΣ ΩΝ , ΑΛΛΑ ΘΕΟΜΙΧΗΣ ΤΙΣ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ , ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΟΛΑΖΕΣΘΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΗΝ ΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ ,
ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΣΧΕΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΝΤΩΣ ΔΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΙΕΤΑΙ .

ΝΟΣΩΝ ΤΕ ⁴ Ο ΑΘΕΟΣ ΕΚΛΟΓΙΖΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΜΙΜΝΗΣΚΕΤΑΙ ΠΛΗΣΜΟ-
-ΝΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΩΣΕΙΣ , ΚΑΙ ΑΤΑΞΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΑΙΤΑΝ , Η ΚΟ-
-ΤΗΟΥΣ ΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΣ , Η ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΣ ΑΕΡΩΝ ΑΗΘΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΟΠΟΥΣ .
ΕΛΕΙΤΑ , ΠΡΟΣΚΡΟΥΣΑΣ ΕΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΙΣ , ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΕΣΩΝ ΑΔΟΞΙΑΙΣ
ΠΡΟΣ ΟΧΛΟΝ , Η ΔΙΑΒΟΛΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΑ , ΤΗΝ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΣΚΟΠΕΙ :

“ ΠΗ ΠΑΡΕΒΗΝ ? ΤΙ Δ ΕΡΕΞΑ ? ΤΙ ΜΟΙ ΔΕΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΤΕΛΕΣΘΗ ? ⁵ ”

ΤΩΙ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΡΡΩΣΤΙΑ ΠΑΣΑ , ΚΑΙ
ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΒΟΛΗ , ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΙ , ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑΣ

¹ Wytttenbach seems to conjecture *ταραττεται* or *σπαταττεται*.
I follow the translation of Xylander.

² My unaccented type is unable to distinguish between *ἄλλα*
but, and *ἄλλα* *other*.

³ Wytttenbach proposes *παντος* *θρηνωι* *και* *παντος* *στεναγμωι*,
which I have adopted in the English.

⁴ Might we not read *δε* instead of *τε*?

⁵ Pythagoricum præceptum in Aureo Carmine, versu 42.

-patient temper he directeth all his complaints against Chance and Spontaneity; and declareth, that nothing here below is directed by Justice or Providence, but that all things are hurried on, and impelled,¹ in promiscuous confusion.

But this is not the custom of the Superstitionist. However small may be the evil which hath happened, he abandoneth himself to sorrow, adding to his grief other² oppressive, and almost incurable, passions, by presenting his [fancy] with terrors, fears, suspicions, and trepidations, and doing nothing without tears and groans.³ For he blameth neither Man, nor Fortune, nor the Seasons, nor himself; but he layeth all the blame upon [his] God, and saith, that, from that quarter, a spiritual flood of vengeance is let loose upon him. Moreover, he doth not consider himself as unfortunate, but as a [poor] mortal under-divine-displeasure, punished by the Gods, and making satisfaction for his [sins], and enduring all things deservedly.

The Atheist, when ill, calculateth, and calleth to his remembrance, how often he hath eaten or drunken too much, what irregularities he hath made in his diet, whether he hath over-exerted himself, or hath gone into an atmosphere contrary to his habits [and his constitution]. When again he maketh a mistake in political affairs, and either incurreth the displeasure of the mob, or is falsely accused before [the] head-of-the-government, he seeketh for the cause [of these things] in himself, and [in] those around him; [and saith]:

“What fault, or what omission have I made?”⁵

But, by the Superstitionist, every bodily infirmity, loss of wealth, death of children, vexations and

ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΔΥΣΗΜΕΡΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΤΕΥΞΕΙΣ, ΠΛΗΓΑΙ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΒΟ-
-ΛΑΙ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑΙ ⁶. ΟΘΕΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΟΛΜΑΙ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΝ,
ΟΥΔΕ ΔΙΑΛΥΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΣΥΜΒΕΒΗΚΟΣ, ΟΥΔΕ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕΙΝ, ΟΥΔΕ ΑΝ-
-ΤΙΤΑΤΕΣΘΑΙ, ΜΗ ΔΟΞΗΙ ΘΕΟΜΑΧΕΙΝ ⁷ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΤΕΙΝΕΙΝ ΚΟΛΑΖΟΜΕ-
ΝΟΣ. ΑΛΛ ΩΘΕΙΤΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΞΩ ΝΟΣΟΥΝΤΟΣ Ο ΙΑΤΡΟΣ, ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΕΤΑΙ
ΔΕ ΠΕΝΘΟΥΝΤΟΣ Ο ΝΟΥΘΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ:
“ΕΑ ΜΕ, ΦΗΣΙΝ, ΑΝΕΡΩΛΕ, ΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ ΔΙΚΗΝ, ΤΟΝ ΑΣΕΒΗ, ΤΟΝ
ΕΠΑΡΑΤΟΝ, ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΙΜΟCΙ ΜΕΜΙΧΜΕΝΟΝ.” ⁸

ΕCΤΙΝ ΑΝΕΡΩΛΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΠΕΙCΜΕΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΛΥΠΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
Δ ΑΛΛΩC ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΛΕΘΟΥΝΤΟC, ΑΠΟΜΑΖΑΙ ΔΑΚΡΥΟΝ, ΑΠΟΚΕΙΡΑΙ
ΚΟΜΗΝ, ΑΦΕΛΕCΘΑΙ ΤΟ ΙΜΑΤΙΟΝ. ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΕΙCΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ ΠΩC
ΑΝ ΠΡΟCΕΙΠΟΙC? Η ΠΗ ΒΟΗΘΗCΟΙC? ΕΞΩ ΚΑΘΗΤΑΙ CΑΚΚΙΟΝ ΕΧ-
-ΩΝ ⁹, Η ΠΕΡΙΕΖΩCΜΕΝΟC ΡΑΚΕCΙ ΡΥΠΑΡΙC; ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙC ΔΕ ΓΥΜΝΟC
ΕΝ ΠΛΗΩΙ ΚΑΛΙΝΔΟΥΜΕΝΟC ΕΞΑΓΟΡΕΥΕΙ ΤΙΝΑC ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΠΛΗΜΜΕΛΕΙΑC, ΩC ΤΟΔΕ ΦΑΓΟΝΤΟC, Η ΒΑΔΙCΑΝΤΟC ΟΔΟΝ ΗΝ
ΟΥΚ ΕΙΔ ΤΟ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ. ΑΝ ΔΕ ΑΡΙCΤΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΗΙ, ΚΑΙ CΥΝΗΙ
ΠΡΩΩΙ ΔΕΙCΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΙ, ΠΕΡΙΘΥΟΜΕΝΟC ΟΙΚΟΙ ΚΑΘΗΤΑΙ, ΠΕΡΙ-
-ΜΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΟC; ΑΙ ΔΕ ΓΡΑΕC, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΠΑΤΤΑΛΩΙ, ΦΗΣΙΝ, Ο

⁶ Ex communi quodam fonte Cicero (Tusc. III. 29:) “Accedit Superstitio muliebris quædam: existimant enim, Diis Immortalibus se facilius satisfacturos, si, eorum plaga perculti, ad-
-flictos se et stratos fateantur.”

Sophocles, ap. Theophil. ad Autolyc. (II. p. 110. edit. Wolf.)
ΘΕΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΛΗΓΗΝ ΟΥΧ ΥΠΕΡΠΛΗΔΑΙ ΒΡΟΤΟC.

⁷ Similarly Menander, ap. Stob. p. 570:

ΜΗ ΘΕΟΜΑΧΕΙ, ΜΗΔΕ ΠΡΟCΑΓΟΥ ΤΩΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙ
ΧΕΙΜΩΝΑC ΕΤΕΡΟΥC, ΤΟΥC ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΥC ΦΕΡΕ.

Cicero, Tusc. III. 25: “Necessitas ferendæ conditionis huma-
-næ, quasi cum Deo pugnare prohibet, admonetque esse homi-
-nem.”

⁸ Similarly Eusebius, Præp. Evang. VI. p. 263. D:

- - ΟΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΩΝ ΕCΤΙΝ ΑΚΟΥCΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ, ΟΤΙ “ΑΡΑ
ΠΡΑΧΘΗCΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ, ΕΙΓΕ ΕΙΜΑΡΤΑΙ ΜΟΙ; ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΜΕ ΧΡΗ ΠΑΡΕ-
-ΧΕΙΝ ΕΜΑΥΤΩΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ?” - - ΠΩC ΟΥΝ, Ο ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΗ ΕΞ ΑΥ-
-ΤΟΥ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟC ΕΓΧΕΙΡΕΙΝ, ΑΛΛ ΥΠΟ ΤΗC ΕΞΩΘΕΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΗC,
ΠΡΟCΕΞΟΙ ΑΝ ΠΟΤΕ ΤΩΙ ΝΟΥΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑCΚΟΝΤΙ, ΜΗ
ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΤΟΝ ΤΟΙC ΠΡΟΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΙC; ΕΙΠΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ

disappointments in political affairs, are said to be divine inflictions, and spiritual chastisements⁶. Wherefore he dareth not to assist himself, or to remove, or to cure, or to oppose, his misfortunes, lest he might be thought to contend with [his] God,⁷ and to make resistance under correction. But, when in sickness, he refuseth the visits of the medical man; and, when in grief, he shutteth the door upon the philosopher, who would console and encourage him. "Leave me," he saith, "I am a wicked man, and under the curse of heaven, hated both by Gods and Spirits."⁸

When a man who believeth not that there is a God, endureth grief and distress, he can wipe away his tears, cut his hair, and change his garments. But how can one accost the Superstitionist, or how can one assist him? He sitteth, before his door, clothed in sackcloth,⁹ or wrapped round in dirty rags. Oftentimes also he rolleth himself naked in the mire, confessing certain sins and transgressions of his own, as having eaten or drunken something; or as having walked in some path, which the Spirit doth not permit. Even when he is at his best, and is affected [only] by a mild Superstition, he sitteth at home, surrounded with frankincense and lotions, while the old women bring him whatever they meet

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΥΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΑ , ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΙΣΙΝ ΕΙΡΗ-
-ΤΑΙ " ΤΙ ΜΕ , Ω ΑΝΘΡΩΠΕ , ΝΟΥΘΕΤΕΙΣ ? ΤΑΥΤΑ ΓΑΡ ΟΥ ΔΗΛΟΥ
ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΠ' ΕΜΟΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΛΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΙΝ : Η ΓΑΡ ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕ-
-ΝΗ ΠΡΟΚΑΤΕΙΛΗΦΕ . "

⁹ Nota religio ex Judæorum ritibus. Attigit Wesselingius ad Diodor. Sic. T. II. p. 399. Et de Syris memorat Menander (citatus Porphyrio de Abstin. IV. 15.) :

" - - - ΣΑΚΚΙΟΝ ΕΛΑΒΟΝ , ΕΙΣ Θ' ΟΔΟΝ
ΕΚΑΘΕΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΚΟΠΡΟΥ , ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΝ
ΕΞΙΛΑΣΑΝΤΟ ΤΩΙ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΩΣΑΙ ΣΦΟΔΡΑ . "

ΒΙΩΝ¹⁰, ΟΤΙ ΑΝ ΤΥΧΩΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΠΕΡΙΛΠΤΟΥΣΙ ΦΕΡΟΥΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΛΠΤΩΣΙ.

VIII. ΤΟΝ ΤΗΡΙΒΑΖΟΝ¹ ΦΑΣΙΝ, ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ ΣΥΛΛΑΜ-
-ΒΑΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΣΠΑΣΘΕΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΚΙΝΑΚΗΝ, ΕΥΡΩΣΤΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ,
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΜΑΧΕΣΘΑΙ: ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΒΩΩΝΤΩΝ ΟΤΙ ΣΥΛΛΑΜ-
-ΒΑΝΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ, ΑΥΤΙΚΑ ΤΟ ΞΙΦΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑΒΑΛΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΧΕΙΡΕ ΣΥΝΔΗΣΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΣΧΕΙΝ. ΑΡ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΧ
ΟΜΟΙΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ? ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΔΙΑΜΑΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΣΥΜ-
-ΦΟΡΑΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΩΘΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ, ΦΥΓΑΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΜΗΧΑ-
-ΝΩΜΕΝΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΤΡΟΛΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΒΟΥΛΗΤΩΝ: Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙ-
-ΜΩΝ, ΟΥΘΕΝΟΣ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ, ΑΥΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΙΠΩΝ, "ΤΑΥΤΑ
ΠΑΣΧΕΙΣ, Ω ΚΑΚΟΔΑΙΜΟΝ, ΕΚ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΕΛΕΥΟΝ-
-ΤΟΣ," ΕΡΡΙΨΕ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΕΛΠΙΔΑ, ΠΡΟΗΚΑΤΟ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ, ΕΦΥΓΕ, ΔΙΕ-
-ΚΡΟΥΣΑΤΟ ΤΟΥΣ ΒΟΗΘΟΥΝΤΑΣ.

ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΟΛΕΘΡΙΑ ΠΟΙΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙ-
-ΜΟΝΙΑΙ⁴. ΜΙΔΑΣ Ο ΠΑΛΛΙΟΣ, ΩΣ ΕΟΙΚΕΝ², ΕΚ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΝ-
-ΥΠΝΙΩΝ ΑΘΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ΟΥΤΩΣ ΚΑΚΩΣ ΕΣΧΕ ΤΗΝ
ΨΥΧΗΝ, ΩΣΤΕ ΕΚΟΥΣΙΩΣ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΙΝ, ΑΙΜΑ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΠΙΩΝ³. Ο

¹⁰ Diogenes Laertius (IV. 55--57.) says of Bion, who while in health had derided Superstition:

ΚΑΙ ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΟΤΕ ΕΜΠΕΣΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΝΟΣΟΝ, ΩΣ ΕΦΑΣΚΟΝ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΧΑΛ-
-ΚΙΔΙ (ΑΥΤΟΘΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΡΕΨΕ,) ΠΕΡΙΛΠΤΑ ΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΕΛΕΙΣΘΗ,
ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΓΙΝΩΣΚΕΙΝ ΕΦ' ΟΙΣ ΕΠΛΗΜΜΕΛΗΝΣΕ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ.

Mox iambico metro idem narrat:

"ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΪ ΔΩΚΕΝ ΕΥΜΑΡΩΣ ΤΡΑΧΗΛΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΛΩΙΔΗΝ,
ΚΑΙ ΣΚΥΤΙΣΙΝ ΒΡΑΧΙΟΝΑΣ ΠΕΛΕΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ Γ' ΕΔΗΣΕ."

So also Plutarchus says of Pericles, who when in health also despised superstition (de Pericl. p. 173. A):

- - Ο ΓΟΥΝ ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ, ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΘΙΚΟΙΣ, ΔΙΑΦΟΡΗΣΑΣ ΕΙ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΤΥΧΑΣ ΤΡΕΠΕΤΑΙ ΤΑ ΗΘΗ, ΚΑΙ ΚΙΝΟΥΜΕΝΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ
ΣΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΘΕΣΙΝ, ΕΞΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ, ΙΣΤΟΡΗΚΕΝ, ΟΤΙ ΝΟ-
-ΣΩΝ Ο ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ, ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΜΕΝΩΙ ΤΙΝΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ, ΔΕΙΞΕΙΕ ΠΕΡΙ-
-ΑΛΤΟΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΤΩΙ ΤΡΑΧΗΛΩΙ ΠΕΡΙΗΡΤΗΜΕΝΟΝ, ΩΣ
ΣΦΟΔΡΑ ΚΑΚΩΣ ΕΧΩΝ, ΟΠΟΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΥΠΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΒΕΛ-
-ΤΗΡΙΩΝ.

¹ Teribazus is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (XV. 8. seq.)
[But that]-Eum. comprehendibus vin opposuisse, ex alio, eo-

with, and hang it [for a charm] upon him, as if, to use the expression of Bion,¹⁰ he were but a peg.

VIII. It is said, that Teribazus,¹ when arrested by the Persians, drew his scymetar, and, being a strong man, began to fight; but that, when the Persians cried out and protested that they arrested him at the order of [The] King, he immediately threw down his sword, and stretched out his hands to be bound. Now is not the case before us precisely similar? Other men combat with their misfortunes, push through affairs, and contrive for themselves means of escaping from, and of preventing, what is unpleasant. But the Superstitionist, of his own accord, and without any person's suggesting it, saith to himself: "Ah wretch, thou sufferest these things, according to the foreknowledge, and at the command, of [thy] God." He thus throweth away all hope, abandoneth himself [to despair], and shunneth, or affronteth, [the friends] who would console him.

Superstitions render fatal many evils which are [in themselves] of very slight importance. [Thus]: we are told² that the ancient Midas, when disenheartened and distressed by certain dreams, suffered his mind to be so sadly affected, that he killed himself, by drinking bull's blood.³

que deperdito, scriptore sumptum est, fortasse Theopompo - - .

² If Wyttienbach did not tell us that *ὡς εἰκέν* means *ut fertur*, I should have translated "Midas, the elder probably, when - - -"

³ Plutarchus (T. Q. Flamin. p. 380. E.) de Hannibale famam fuisse à quibusdam proditam ΜΙΜΗCΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΔΑΝ , ΔΙΜΑ ΤΑΥΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΙΝΕΙΝ - - . Taurini sanguinis vim tradit Dioscorides, Alexiph. XXIV, indeque Plinius attigit, XXVII. 41.

ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΣ , ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΡΟΣ
ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥΣ⁴ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΙ , ΚΥΝΩΝ ΛΥΚΟΙΣ ΩΡΥΟΜΕΝΩΝ
ΟΜΟΙΑ , ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΣΤΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΙΑΝ ΑΓΡΩΣΤΕΩΣ
ΑΝΑΒΛΑΣΤΑΝΟΥΣΗΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΝΤΕΩΝ ΤΑ ΣΗΜΕΙΑ ΦΟΒΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ,
ΕΞΑΘΥΜΗΣΑΣ , ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΒΕΒΕΘΕΙΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΛΠΙΣΙΝ , ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ
ΑΠΕΣΦΑΖΕΝ .⁵

ΗΝ ΔΕ ΙΣΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΙΑΙ⁶ , ΤΩΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΙ , ΚΡΑΤΙΣ-
-ΤΟΝ , ΟΥΤΩΣ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΓΗΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ , ΩΣ ΜΙ-
-ΔΑΣ , Η ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΣ , Η , ΦΟΒΗΘΕΝΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΚΙΑΝ ΕΚΛΙΠΟΥ-
-ΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ , ΚΑΘΗΣΘΑΙ , ΠΕΡΙΤΕΙΧΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΟ-
-ΛΕΜΙΩΝ ; ΕΙΤΑ , ΟΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΣΙ ΜΥΡΙΑΣΙΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΦΟΝΕΥΘΕΝ-
-ΤΩΝ Η ΖΩΝΤΩΝ ΑΛΟΝΤΩΝ , ΥΠΟΧΕΙΡΙΟΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΚΛΕΩΣ
ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΙΝ . ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΓΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΦΡΑΖΙΣ ΕΝ ΜΕΣΩΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΦΟΒΕ-
-ΡΟΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΔΕΙΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΑΙΡΩΙ ΠΟΔΩΝ⁷ ΣΚΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΝ ΑΠΑΝ-
-ΤΗCΙC⁸ ; ΑΛΛΑ ΔΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ , ΕΜ-
-ΠΕCΟΝΤΟC⁹ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ CΥΓΧΕΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΤΥΦΛΩCΑΙ ΛΟΓΙCΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΠΡΑΓ-
-ΜΑCΙ ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΛΟΓΙCΜΟΥ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΙC .

“ ΓΛΑΥΚΕ ΟΡΑ : ΒΛΘΥC ΓΑΡ ΗΔΗ ΚΥΜΑCΙ ΤΑΡΑCΣΕΤΑΙ
ΠΟΝΤΟC , ΑΜΦΙ Δ ΑΚΡΑΙ ΓΥΡΕΥΟΝ ΟΡΘΟΝ ΙCΤΑΤΑΙ ΝΕΦΟC ,
CΗΜΑ ΧΕΙΜΩΝΟC - - - ”¹⁰

⁴ Libri omnes vitiose προς μεσσηνίους .

⁵ Pausanius (IV. 3.) relates, that the despair of Aristodemus arose from this King's seeing the ghost of his daughter whom he had put to death.

⁶ vid. Thucyd., VII. 35--87; Plutarch., in vitâ Niciæ, p. 523, 524. seq.

⁷ The word ποδων seems unintelligible. Wytttenbach says, “ Verisimillima est lectio περιποδων, à nullo quamvis codice exhibita.” I should like to ask a Greek scholar whether Plutarchus might not have written ποδων, hellenizing the Latin word “ Nodi,” in the sense of “ the Nodes.” ? Λ.

⁸ In simili caussâ territis militibus prudentius egit Dion, in ejus vitâ hæc Plutarchus (p. 963. A) :

ΕΞΕΛΙΝΕΝ Ἡ ΣΕΛΗΝΗ : ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙC ΜΕΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΩΝΑ ΘΑΥΜΑCΤΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ἦΝ , ΛΟΓΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΙC ΤΑC ΕΚΛΕΙΠΤΙΚΑC ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥC , ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ

Similarly, Aristodemus, the King of the Messenians, having, during the war with the Lacedæmonians,⁴ heard dogs howling like wolves, and having also, seen [the herb] *Agrôstis* growing up around his paternal hearth, miracles that alarmed the diviners, was so disinheartened and so disappointed in his hopes, that he slew himself.⁵ And it would perhaps have been best for Nicias,⁶ the general of the Athenians, to have been delivered of his Superstition in the same way as Midas, or Aristodemus, was, than, to have remained in inaction during an eclipse of the moon, while he was invested by the enemy, and consequently be made a prisoner. (with 40,000 men, who were slain, or taken) and so to die ingloriously. For there is nothing formidable in the interposition of the Earth between [the Sun and Moon,] nor is it terrible that [the Earth's] shadow should fall upon⁷ the Moon at [the] time of [the] — ;⁸ but to fall into the darkness of Superstition is [really] terrible, when it obfuscate the Reason, in circumstances when [men] have particular need of Reason.

“ Mark, Glaucus, how the ocean is disturbed ;
and how the cloud circleth the promontory,
portending tempest——.”¹⁰

ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΙΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΛΑΝΤΗΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ , ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ
ΓΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΦΡΑΞΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΗΛΙΟΝ .

⁹ Malim emnescon. ton, ut fere Faber, et Reiskius.

¹⁰ Archilochi hanc dictionem ex Heraclidis libello de Allegoriis (p. 412.) tertio etiam versu integram, retulerunt collecti-ones Fragmentorum Lyricorum, Commeliniana (Anni 1598,) Stephaniana (A. 1600). - - J. Peirsonus - - trochaicum metrum - - purgavit, sic :

“ ΓΛΑΥΚ ΟΡΑ : ΒΛΘΥΣ ΓΑΡ ΗΔΗ ΚΥΜΑΣΙΝ ΤΑΡΑССΕΤΑΙ
ΠΟΝΤΟΣ : ΑΜΦΙ Δ ΑΚΡΑ ΓΥΡΕΟΝ ΟΡΠΟΝ ΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ ΝΕΦΟΣ
ΣΗΜΑ ΧΕΙΜΩΝΟΣ : ΚΙΧΑΝΕΙ Δ ΕΞ ΑΕΛΛΗΤΗΣ ΦΟΒΟΣ .”

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΔΩΝ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΗΣ¹ ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΥΛΕΚΦΥΓΕΙΝ , ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΥΣ
ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙΤΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΑΣ² , ΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΑΚΑ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΕΙ ,
ΤΗΝ ΚΕΡΑΙΑΝ ΥΦΙΝΣΙ ,

“ΦΕΥΓΕΙ ΜΕΓΑ ΛΑΪΦΟΣ ΥΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΣΑΣ ΕΡΕΒΩΔΕΟΣ ΕΚ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ.”³

Ο ΗΣΙΟΔΟΣ⁴ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙ , ΠΡΟ ΑΡΟΤΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΠΟΡΟΥ , ΤΟΝ ΓΕΩΡ-
-ΓΟΝ ΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΙΪ ΤΕ ΧΘΟΝΙΩΙ , ΔΗΜΗΤΕΡΙ Θ ΑΓΝΗΙ , ΤΗΣ ΕΧ-
-ΕΤΛΗΣ ΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ : ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΙΑΝΤΑ⁵ ΦΗΣΙ , ΤΩΙ ΕΚ-
-ΤΟΡΙ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΑ ΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΕΙΝ , ΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΛΛΗ-
-ΝΑΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ , ΕΙΤΑ , ΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ,
ΟΠΛΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ . ΚΑΙ Ο ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ⁶ , ΟΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΑΧΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΠΡΟ-
-ΣΕΤΑΖΕΝ :

“ΕΥ ΜΕΝ ΤΙΣ ΔΟΡΥ ΘΗΞΑΣΘΩ , ΕΥ Δ ΑΣΠΙΔΑ ΘΕΣΘΩ ,”

ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΙΤΕΙ :

“ΔΟΣ ΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΡΗΝΕΣ ΒΑΛΕΕΙΝ ΠΡΙΑΜΟΙΟ ΜΕΛΑΘΡΟΝ .”

ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΛΠΙΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ , ΟΥ ΔΕΙΛΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΦΑΣΙΣ⁷ . ΑΛΛΑ

¹ Similarly, Dio Chrysost., Or. 16, p. 246. A :

ΠΩΣ ΕΝΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΙΣΘΑΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΡΑΙΔΙΩΣ ΕΝΔΙ-
-ΔΟΝΤΑ ΜΗ ΚΑΚΟΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ , ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ
ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ , ΟΠΩΣ ΜΗ ΤΟΥΤΟ , ΜΗΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ , ΣΥΜΒΗΙ : ΚΑΘΑ-
-ΠΕΡ ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΕΝ ΟΜΒΡΩΙ ΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ , ΣΚΕΠΑΣΜΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΧΟΙ ΜΗ-
-ΔΕΝ , ΕΥΧΟΙΤΟ ΔΕ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΑΛΑΓΜΩΝ ΔΙΑΦΥΓΕΙΝ .
ΠΟΛΥ ΓΟΥΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΑΛΑΓΜΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΧΕΣΤΕΡΑ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΑ ΔΥΣΧΕΡΗ ΠΑΡΑ
ΤΗΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ . Η , ΝΗ ΔΙΑ , ΕΙΤΙΣ ΠΛΕΩΝ , ΑΝΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΙΑΞΙ
ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕΙΝ , ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΠΙΠΤΟΝ ΔΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΛΩΣ , ΕΥΧΟΙΤΟ ΜΗ-
-ΔΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΝΑΥΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ !

Julianus, Or. 2, p. 97. D :

ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΗΣ ΕΞ ΑΠΕΙΛΗΣ ΝΕΦΩΝ ΡΑΓΕΙΣΗΣ ΛΑΙΛΑΠΟΣ , ΕΙΤΑ
(επ del.) ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΥΘΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ
ΗΪΟΝΑΣ : ΕΝΘΑΥΘΑ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΕΙΡΟΥΣ ΔΕΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΟΛΟΝ
ΚΑΤΕΛΑΒΕ ΔΕΟΣ : Ο ΔΕ ΗΔΗ ΧΑΙΡΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΝΝΥΤΑΙ , ΓΑΛΗΝΗΝ ΑΚΡΙ-
-ΒΗ ΚΑΙ ΗΝΗΜΙΑΝ ΕΛΠΙΖΩΝ .

² [Castor and Pollux, I suppose. Concerning other Gods Sa-
-viours, especially Æsculapius, I have derived much amusement
and information from the treatise of Schwarzius “ de Diis φι-
-λανθρωποις .”]

³ Geminus est locus De Animi Tranq. p. 475. F.

As soon as the Pilot perceiveth this,¹ he doth [in-deed] pray that he may escape, and invoketh [the] Gods [the] Saviours ;² but, while he prayeth, he draweth to the rudder, letteth down the main-yard,

“ ——— and gathering in the sails
escapeth the dark sea’s engulphing force.”³

Hesiodus⁴ ordereth the agriculturist, before ploughing and seed time, to pray to the terrestrial Jove, and the chaste Ceres, [but] with his hand upon the plow-tail. Similarly, Homerus saith, that Ajax⁵ when about to engage in single combat with Hector, ordered the Greeks to pray for him to the Gods; and that then, while they were praying, he armed himself. So also Agamemnon,⁶ at the same time that he directed his combatants :

“ Sharpen your spears, and well fix on your shields ; ”
then also asketh of Jove :

“ King Priam’s palace may I overthrow. ”

for God is the hope of valour, not the excuse of cowardice.⁷ Albeit, the Jews, sitting still, in unbleached

¹ ερτ. v. 463. [435.]

“ ΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΔΙ΄ ΧΘΟΝΙΩΙ , ΔΗΜΗΤΕΡΙ Θ ΑΓΝΗΙ ,
ΕΚΤΕΛΕΑ ΒΡΙΘΕΙΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΕΡΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΑΚΤΗΝ ,
ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΑ ΠΡΩΤ ΑΡΟΤΟΥ , ΟΤΑΝ ΑΚΡΟΝ ΕΧΕΤΛΗΣ
ΧΕΙΡΙ ΛΑΒΩΝ , ΟΡΗΗΚΙ ΒΩΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΝΩΤΟΝ ΙΚΗΑΙ
ΕΝΔΡΥΟΝ ΕΛΚΟΝΤΩΝ ΜΕΣΑΒΩΝ .

⁵ Iliad. Η. v. 193.

⁶ Iliad. Κ. v. 332; and 414, in which last verse ΔΟΣ ΜΕ Plutarchus fecit pro ὅρην με.

⁷ Egregia sententia, proverbii frequentiam habet, aliis tamen verbis prodita. Hujusmodi est Philemonis ap. Theophilum ad Autolye. III. p. 294 :

“ ΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΘΕΟΝ ΣΕΒΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΛΑΣ
ΕΧΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ . ”

ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ , ΣΑΒΒΑΤΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ , ΕΝ ΑΓΝΑΜΠΟΙΣ ΚΑΘΕΖΟΜΕΝΟΙ ⁸ , ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΚΛΙΜΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΙΘΕΝΤΩΝ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΩΝ , ΟΥΚ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ , ΑΛΛ ΕΜΕΙΝΑΝ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΝ ΣΑΓΗΝΙ ΜΙΑΙ ΤΗ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΙ ΣΥΝΛΕΔΕΜΕΝΟΙ .

ΙΧ. ΤΟΙΑΥΤΗ ΜΕΝ , ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΒΟΥΛΗΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΑΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΙΣ , Η ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ; ΒΕΛΤΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΕΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΔΙΟΙΣ , ΤΗΣ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΟΣ . ΗΔΙΣΤΑ ΔΕ ⁹ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΕΙΛΑΠΙΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ , ΚΑΙ ΜΥΗΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΓΙΑΣΜΟΙ , ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΥΧΑΙ ¹⁰ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΕΙΣ . ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΤΟΙΝΥΝ ΣΚΟΠΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΟΝ , ΓΕΛΩΝΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΔΩΝΙΟΝ ΓΕΛΩΤΑ ¹ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ² , ΚΑΙ ΠΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΦΘΕΕΓΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΤΡΕΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΣ , ΟΤΙ “ ΤΕΤΥΦΩΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΡΑΣΘΑΙ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ” , ΑΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΚΟΝ . Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΜΕΝ , ΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ ΔΕ , ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΗΔΕΣΘΑΙ .

“ ΠΟΛΙΣ Δ ⁴ ΟΜΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΩΝ ΓΕΜΕΙ ;

ΟΜΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΑΙΑΝΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΝΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ” ⁵

Η ΨΥΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ . ΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΩΧΡΙΑΙ , ΘΥΓΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΕΙΤΑΙ , ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ ΦΩΝΗ ΠΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΗ , ΚΑΙ ΧΕΡΣΙΝ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΙ

⁸ Spectat factum in primis celebratum sub Antiocho Epiphane et initiis Maccabæorum, proditum Maccab. I. 2; 37. seq. et Josepho, Antiq. Jud. XII. 6. 2.

⁹ I should like to read ΔΗ for ΔΕ.

¹⁰ ΚΑΤΕΥΧΗ bono sensu, exstat Vit. 301. C, 968. A, 970. E; et ΚΑΤΕΥΧΕΘΑΙ, quod frequenter malo sensu est devovere, exscerari, in meliorem partem usurpatur, v. c. Opp. Mor. p. 108. F, Vit. 963. C.

¹ risu dolorem animi dissimulante. Originem cum variæ eruditionis copiâ prodit Zenobius, V. 85; unde sua habet Suidas et partim Apostolius. [Yet surely we understand the word sardoniac smile in a very different sense; and it seems to me evident, that Plutarch's Atheist is ridiculing, and not deploring, the ceremonies of the Superstitious.]

² Nunc intelligendus est Dativus Consequentiæ.

clothes,⁸ because it was the sabbath, suffered the enemy to plant ladders, and seize upon the walls, they themselves not rising, but remaining inactive, like [fishes] in a net, [though] fettered only by their Superstition.

IX. Such then is Superstition, in dangerous and undesirable times and circumstances. Nor, even in more agreeable [days,] is [Superstition] at all better than Atheism. Surely,⁹ very agreeable to men are feasts and banquets in the temples, and initiations and orgies, and the praying and adoring the Gods. Here therefore observe the Atheist, how he derideth, with a wild and sardonic grin,¹ these ceremonies; and occasionally whispereth aside to his fellow guests: "They, who think that these [ceremonies] are performed to Gods,³ are silly and be-dewed." And this [erroneous judgment] is the only evil that happeneth to [the Atheist]. On the other hand, the Superstitious [man] wisheth indeed to rejoice and be merry, but cannot.

" With sacrifice the city teemeth ;
but, with pæans, groans are mixed " ⁵

in the soul of him who is Superstitious. He turneth pale, beneath his chaplet of flowers; he sacrificeth, while in dread; he prayeth, with a faltering tongue; and throweth the frankincense, with trembling hands. He proveth, in short, the falsity of the saying of Py-

³ Perhaps I ought to have translated: " They who think it right that Gods should be thus worshipped, - - - . "

⁴ I have ventured to consider δε a false print. And indeed Wytttenbach has δ' in his notes.

⁵ Sophocles Œdip. Tyr. v. 4.

ΤΡΕΜΟΥΣΑΙΣ : ΚΑΙ ΟΛΩΣ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΚΝΥΣΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΝ⁶ ΦΛΥΑΡΟΝ , ΕΙΠΟΝΤΟΣ ΟΤΙ “ΒΕΛΤΙΣΤΟΙ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΘΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΒΑΔΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ” : ΤΟΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΘΛΙΩΤΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΙΣΤΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΥΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ , ΩΣΠΕΡ ΑΡΚΤΩΝ ΦΩΛΕΟΙΣ , Η ΧΕΙΔΙΣ ΔΡΑΚΟΝ-ΤΩΝ , Η ΜΥΧΟΙΣ ΚΗΤΩΝ , ΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΡΟΙΣ Η ΑΝΑΚ-ΤΟΡΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΙΟΝΤΕΣ .

Χ. ΟΘΕΝ ΕΜΟΙΓΕ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΖΕΙΝ ΕΠΕΙΣΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΑ ΦΑΣΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ , ΜΗ ΦΑΣΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙ-ΜΟΝΙΑΝ⁷ . ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ⁸ ΔΙΚΗΝ ΕΦΥΓΕΝ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΙ ΛΙΘΩΝ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΗΛΙΟΝ . ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΟΥΣ⁹ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΣ , ΟΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΛΙΟΝ ΟΥΔ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΠΑΡΑΠΑΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΥΣΙ . ΤΙ ΣΥ ΛΕΓΕΙΣ ? Ο ΜΗ ΝΟΜΙΖΩΝ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ , ΑΝΟΣΙΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ? Ο ΔΕ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΙΖΩΝ , ΟΙΟΥΣ ΟΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ , ΟΥ ΜΑΚ-ΡΩΙ ΔΟΞΑΙΣ ΑΝΟΣΙΩΤΕΡΑΙΣ ΣΥΝΕΣΤΙΝ ? ΕΓΩΓ ΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΘΕΛΟΙΜΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΜΟΥ , ΜΗΤΕ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΑΙ ΤΟΠΑΡΑΠΑΝ ΜΗΔΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΝ , Η ΛΕΓΕΙΝ , ΟΤΙ ΠΛΟΥ-ΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΑΒΕΒΑΙΟΣ , ΕΥΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΟΣ , ΕΥΧΕΡΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΡΓΗΝ , ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΥΧΟΥΣΙ ΤΙΜΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΣ , ΜΙΚΡΟΛΥΠΟΣ : ΑΝ ΚΑΛΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΕΙΛΗΝΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΥΣ , ΠΑΡΑΛΙΠΗΙΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ : ΑΝ ΑΣΧΟ-

⁶ Plutarchus , “ Defect. Orac.” p. 413. B, in simili argu-mento :

ΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ ΕΞΕΛΕΓΧΕΘΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΝ , ΕΙΠΟΝΤΑ , ΒΕΛ-ΤΙΣΤΟΥΣ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ , ΟΤΑΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΒΑΔΙΖΩΣΙΝ .

Refertur huc narratio Scriptoris Incerti de vita Pythagoræ, apud Photium §. 5 :

ΕΛΕΓΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΒΕΛΤΙΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΡΕΙΣ ΤΡΟ-ΠΟΥΣ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ : ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΤΗ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ : ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΟΣΙΟΝΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ , ΚΑΤ ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΚΑΙΡΟΥ , ΧΩΡΙΖΕΘΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΚΑΚΙΑΣ , ΕΙΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΟΜΟΙΟΥΝΤΑ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ : - - - .

Cicero, de Leg. II, 11 :

“ Et illud bene dictum est à Pythagora, doctissimo viro, tum inaxime et pietatem et religionem versari in animis, cum rebus divinis operam daremus.”

conf: Senec. Epist. 94, p. 352. Geminam fere laudat senten- tiam Aristotelis, Quæst. Nat. VII, 30.

-thagoras,⁶ that we are then best, when we walk towards the Gods. For indeed then do the Superstitious feel themselves most miserable and wretched, approaching the palaces, and the royal-abodes, of the Gods, as they would the dens of bears, the pits of dragons, or the caves of crocodiles.

X. Hence, to me at least, it is even a subject of astonishment, that [men] call Atheism Impiety, but do not so call Superstition.⁷ Albeit, Anaxagoras⁸ [was obliged to] flee from an accusation of impiety, when he had affirmed that the Sun is a stone; though no one hath affirmed that the Kimmerians⁹ are impious, in their denial of the existence of the Sun. [But] what sayest thou? Is he guilty who supposeth that there are no Gods; and is not he afflicted with far more guilty opinions, who considereth that the [Gods] are such as the Superstitious suppose them to be? Hence, I, at least, would rather that mankind should say of me, that Plutarchus doth not, nor ever did, exist; than that they should say, that Plutarchus is a weak-minded, fickle man, that he is prone to anger, soon disposed to revenge, and offended at trifles; and that, if thou omittest [to invite] him when thou givest a dinner, or if, from pressure of business, thou

⁷ Tale est Epicuri effatum, ap. Diog. Laert. X, 123:

ΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΧ Ο ΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΙΡΩΝ , ΑΛΛ Ο ΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΔΟΞΑΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΑΝΤΩΝ .

Philo Jud. " de Temulentia , " p. 256. C :

Ο ΑΠΕΡΙΣΚΕΠΤΟΣ - - ΚΑΤΕΙΡΓΑΣΑΤΟ ΤΟΥΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΕΔΟΚΗΣΕΝ , ΑΝΤΙ ΟΣΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ : ΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΛΥΘΕΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΦΡΟΝΩΝ ΨΥΧΑΙΣ , ΑΣΕΟΤΗΣ .

⁸ Hanc ejus opinionem plurimi memorarunt, quos citant Menagius ad Diog. Laert. II. 8. 10, et Davisius ad Max. Tyr. XXV. 3. p. 595.

⁹ vid. Odyss. Α. v. [14. - - 19.]

-ΛΙΑΣ ΣΟΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ , ΕΠΙ ΘΥΡΑΙΣ¹⁰ ΜΗ ΕΛΘΗΣ :¹ ΕΙ ΜΗ ΠΡΟΪΕΙ-
-ΛΗΣ : ΔΙΕΔΕΤΑΙ ΣΟΥ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΠΡΟΣΦΥΣ , ΚΑΙ ΣΥΛΛΑΒΩΝ ΑΠΟ-
-ΤΥΜΠΑΝΙΕΙ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ , Η ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΡΠΟΙΣ ΕΦΗΣΕΙ ,
ΚΑΙ ΛΥΜΑΝΕΙΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΛΩΡΑΝ .²

ΤΟΥ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΝ ΑΙΔΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ , ΚΑΙ
ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ : “ ΘΥΑΔΑ , ΦΟΙΒΑΔΑ , ΜΑΙΝΑΔΑ , ΛΥΣΣΑΔΑ ” , ΚΙΝΗ-
-ΣΙΑΣ Ο ΜΕΛΟΠΟΙΟΣ , ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΑΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣ , “ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΗ ΣΟΙ ” ,
ΕΙΠΕ , “ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ” . ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝ ΟΜΟΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ , ΚΑΙ ΧΕΙ-
-ΡΟΝΑ , ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΟΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ ΥΠΟΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΥΣ-
-CIN ,

³ “ ΗΤ ΕΠ ΑΓΧΟΝΑΣ⁴ ΑΪΖΑΣΑΝ ,
ΗΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΧΩ ΝΑΚΑΥΣΕΙΕΝ ,⁵
ΗΤΕ ΚΑΙΚ ΝΕΚΡΟΥ ΜΙΑΝΘΕΙΣΑ ,⁶
ΚΑΙΝ ΠΕΦΥΡΜΕΝΑ Γ ΕΛΕΙΧΛΑΘΕΝ ,

¹⁰ Sic libri nostri; et tamen ratio θυρας postulat: - - dicitur enim ἐπὶ θυρας τινος ερχεσθαι , φοιταίν , ιέναι ; et ἐπὶ θυ-
-ραις τινος εἶναι .

¹ I cannot help thinking there must be something omitted here.

² Significatur Diana, quæ aprum Calydonium in Ænei sata immisit. Iliad. I, 537; quod item tangit Lucianus “ de Sacri-
-ficiis.” T. I, p. 526.

³ I have placed these lines in the text, according to the form recommended by Wyttenbach, who says: “ suspicati sumus subesse versus trochaïcos dimetros hypercatalectos.” The original is so corrupt and unintelligible that I do not think it worth copying. The poverty of my translation clearly indicates that I do not understand the passage even with Wyttenbach's corrections. Yet probably the reader will prefer it to the translation, or rather paraphrase, given by Baxter, who thus renders the two last lines of the original:

“ Thou down chairs and tables rumbl'st
When with Oberon thou tumb'l'st.”

⁴ Thus Hippocrates, περὶ παρθενίων, p. 562:

- - ἀπο τῆς τοιαύτης οφίος πολλοὶ ἡδὴ ἀνηγχονισσέναν ,
πλειονες δὲ γυναῖκες ἢ ἄνδρες ; - - ὑπο δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν καρ-
-διαν πιεζέως ἀγχονας κρίνουσιν ; - - φρονήσας δὲ τῆς
ἀνερωπού , τῇ ἀρτεμίδι αἱ γυναῖκες ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ , ἀλλὰ δὴ
καὶ πολυτελέστατα , τῶν ἱματίων καθιερούσι τῶν γυναικείων ,
κελεύοντων τῶν μαντέων , ἐξάπατῶμεναι - - .

dost not call upon him, ¹ if thou dost not address him; he will seize upon thee, and gnaw thy body, or catch hold of [thy] infant and beat him to death, or let loose a wild beast of his upon [thy] crops and spoil [thy] harvest. ²

When Timotheus was, at Athens, singing [the glory of] Diana, and calling her :

“Mad, furious, inspired, frantic,”

Kinesias, the Lyric poet, rose from among the spectators, and said “[Then] may thy daughter be such [as thou representest the Goddess to be]”. And indeed such qualities, and even worse, do the Superstitious believe concerning Diana;

- ³ “ Who biddeth this poor woman hang herself, ⁴
and addeth to the pains of her in child bed; ⁵
who, by some dead body touched, ⁶
shall come and sprinkle thee;

Eustath. Odys. M. p. 1714:

ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΟΥΝ ΕΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΣΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΝ ΕΠΙΞΕΝΩΘΗΝΑΙ ΦΗΣΙΝ ΕΦΕΣΩΙ ΓΙΩΙ ΚΑΨΤΡΟΥ, ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΔΕ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΓΥ-ΝΑΙΚΟΣ, ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΚΥΝΑ, ΕΙΤ ΑΥΘΙΣ ΕΛΕΗΣΑΣΑΝ ΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ; ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΣΧΥΝΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΙ ΣΥΜΒΕΒΗΚΟΤΙ, ΑΠΑΓΧΑΣΘΑΙ Γ' ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΘΕΟΝ, ΠΕΡΙΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΗΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΕΙΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ, ΕΚΑΤΗΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΑΙ.

Conjuncta est causa cultæ apud Arcades ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΑΠΑΓΧΟΜΕ-ΝΗΣ, de quâ prodit Pausanias (VIII. 23), et Clem. Alex. (Protrept. p. 24. C): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΝ ΔΕ ΑΡΚΑΔΕΣ, ΑΠΑΓΧΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΚΑ-ΛΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ, ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΟΝΤΑΙ, ΩΣ ΦΗΣΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ.

⁵ Diana - - malum ac difficilem partum immittere solebat, ut notat Callimachus, 127. - - . Exemplum puerperæ a Dæ-mone vexatæ narrat Psellus, de op. Dæm. p. 101.

⁶ Thus Euripides says of Diana (Iphig. Taur. v. 380):

“ ΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΕΜΦΟΜΑΙ ΣΟΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ,
ΗΤΙΣ, ΒΡΟΤΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΑΨΗΤΑΙ ΦΟΝΟΥ,
Η ΚΑΙ ΛΟΧΕΙΑΣ, Η ΝΕΚΡΟΥ, ΘΙΓΗΙ ΧΕΡΟΙΝ,
ΒΩΜΩΝ ΕΠΕΙΡΓΕΙ, ΜΥΣΑΡΟΝ ΩΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΗ;
ΑΥΤΗ ΔΕ ΘΥΣΙΑΙΣ ΗΔΕΤΑΙ ΒΡΟΤΟΚΤΟΝΟΙΣ.”

ΗΤΕ ΚΑΙΝ ΤΡΙΟΔΩΙ⁷ ΚΑΘΑΡΜΑΤΕΣΣΙΝ,
ΕΠΙΣΠΩΜΕΝΑ, ΠΑΛΑΜΝΑΙΩΙ
ΣΥΜΠΛΕΚΟΙ ΣΕ - - .”

ΟΥΔΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΕΙΚΕΣΤΕΡΑ ΦΡΟΝΗΣΟΥΣΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-
-ΝΟΣ, ΠΕΡΙ ΗΡΑΣ, ΠΕΡΙ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ: ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ
ΤΡΕΜΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΔΟΙΚΑΣΙ. ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΤΙ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΝ Η ΝΙΟΒΗ ΠΕΡΙ
ΤΗΣ ΛΗΤΟΥΣ ΕΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΗΣΕΝ, ΟΙΟΝ Η ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΠΕΠΕΙ-
-ΚΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΦΡΟΝΑΣ? ΩΣ ΑΡΑ ΛΟΙΔΟΡΗΘΕΙΣΑ ΚΑ-
-ΤΕΤΟΖΕΥΣΕ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΛΙΑΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ,

“ΕΞ ΜΕΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΣ, ΕΞ Δ ΥΙΕΙΣ ΗΒΩΝΤΑΣ,”⁸

ΟΥΤΩΣ ΑΠΛΗΣΤΟΣ ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΑΝΙΛΑΣΤΟΣ! ΕΙ ΓΑΡ
ΑΛΗΘΩΣ Η ΘΕΟΣ ΧΟΛΗΝ ΕΙΧΕ, ΚΑΙ ΜΙΣΟΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΗΛ-
-ΓΕΙ ΚΑΚΩΣ ΑΚΟΥΟΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΕΓΕΛΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΗΣ ΑΜΑ-
-ΘΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΝΟΙΑΣ, ΑΛΛ ΗΓΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ: ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΔΕΙ ΤΟΖΕΥΣΑΙ
ΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΣΑΥΤΗΝ ΩΜΟΤΗΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΚΡΙΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΨΕΥΔΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΥ-
-ΤΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑΣ. ΤΗΣ ΓΟΥΝ ΕΞΛΑ-
-ΒΗΣ ΠΡΟΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΘΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΙΚΡΙΑΝ, ΩΣ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΗΡΙΩΔΗ,
ΛΕΓΟΥΣΗΣ:

“— ΤΟΥ ΕΓΩ ΜΕΣΟΝ ΗΛΑΡ ΕΧΟΙΜΙ

ΕΣΘΕΜΕΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΥΣΑ - - - .”⁹

ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΣΥΡΙΑΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΥΣΙΝ, ΑΝ
ΜΑΙΝΙΔΑ¹⁰ ΤΙΣ Η ΑΦΥΑΣ¹ ΦΑΓΗ, ΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΚΗΝΗΜΙΑ ΔΙΕΣΘΕΙΕΙΝ, ΕΛ-

Porphyrus (de Abstin. IV. 16, p. 353.) in Eleusiniis prodii-
-tum scripsit: ΚΑΙ ΕΛΙΧΣ ΜΕΜΙΑΝΘΑΙ, ΤΩΙ ΤΕ ΛΕΧΟΥΣ ΑΨΑΣΘΑΙ,
ΩΣ ΤΩΙ ΘΗΗΣΙΔΕΩΝ.

⁷ Thus Lucianus, T. I, p. 330:

ΕΙ ΠΟΥ ΕΥΡΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΤΡΙΟΔΩΙ ΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ, Η
ΩΟΝ ΕΚ ΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΟΥ, Η ΤΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟ.

And Theocritus, Idyll. II. 12:

“ΤΑΙ ΧΘΟΝΙΑΙ Θ ΕΚΑΤΑΙ, ΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΥΛΑΚΕΣ ΤΡΟΜΕΟΝΤΙ
ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΑΝ ΝΕΚΥΩΝ ΑΝΑ Τ ΗΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΑΝ ΑΙΜΑ.”

And Dio Chrys., Or. IV. p. 73. D:

ΕΙΘΘΑΣΙΝ ΕΝΙΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΑ ΜΗΝΙΝ
ΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΙΛΑΣΚΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΑΝΤΗ ΦΑΣΚΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΝ: ΕΠΕΙΤΑ,

and, if she meeteth thee abroad,⁷
shall subject thee to penitence."

Nor do [the Superstitious] entertain milder [sentiments] than these, concerning Apollo, Juno, or Venus; for they fear and dread all these [Deities]. Albeit, what blasphemy did Niobe ever utter against Latona, so great as that which Superstition hath persuaded silly [people to believe] concerning the Goddess. [For it is believed,] that, being reproached, she slew-with-her-arrows the poor woman's—

" Six daughters and six youthful sons,"⁸

so implacable, and insatiable was she, in the infliction of evils! For if the Goddess had really been angry, and had borne enmity to the wicked, and felt grieved at being ill-spoken of, and grew indignant, instead of laughing at the uninstructedness and ignorance of mortals; she ought to have slain with her arrows those, who falsely accused her of such cruelty and bitterness, and could write and say such things of her. We condemn as barbarous and brutal, the rancorous (savageness) of Hecuba, when she saith:

" — Oh that I could seize his liver !

That I could cling to and devour it! — ;"⁹

Yet the Superstitious imagine, that, if any one eateth a mænis¹⁰ or aphuas,¹ the Syrian Goddess² will eat

ΟΙΜΑΙ , ΦΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΠΡΟ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΘΑΡΜΩΝ ΕΞΗ-
-ΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΚΝΥΝΤΕΣ . ΟΙΑ ΦΑΣΙΝ ΕΠΙΛΕΜΠΕΙΝ ΧΟΛΟΥ-
-ΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΝ .

⁸ Iliad. ω. 604.

⁹ Iliad. ω. 212.

¹⁰ ["*A cackrel fish.* Some take it for a kind of herring, or pilchard." Ainsw.]

¹ ["*A small ordinary fish as a minnow, a loach or bleak.* Ainsw."]

² Thus Menander (ap. Porphy. deAbstin. IV. 15) :

-ΚΕΣΙ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΠΙΜΠΑΝΑΙ , ΣΥΝΤΗΚΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΗΛΑΡ .²

ΧΙ. ΑΡ ΟΥΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΦΑΥΛΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ , ΑΝΟ-
-CΙΟΝ , ΤΟ ΔΕ ΔΟΞΑΖΕΙΝ , ΟΥΚ ΑΝΟCΙΟΝ ? Η ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΦΩΝΗΝ
ΑΤΟΠΟΝ Η ΔΟΞΑ ΠΟΙΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ ? ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΗΜΕΙC ΤΗΝ
ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΙΑΝ , ΟΤΙ ΔΥCΜΕΝΕΙΑC CΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕCΤΙ , ΠΡΟΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΘΑ ;
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥC ΚΑΚΩC ΗΜΑC ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑC , ΕΧΘΡΟΥC ΝΟΜΙΖΟΜΕΝ , ΩC ΚΑΙ
ΑΠΙCΤΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΩC ΦΡΟΝΟΥΤΑC . ΟΡΑΙC ΔΕ ΟΙΔΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ
ΟΙ ΔΕΙCΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΕC ΦΡΟΝΟΥCΙΝ , ΕΜΠΛΗΚΤΟΥC , ΑΠΙCΤΟΥC ,
ΕΥΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΟΥC , ΤΙΜΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΥC , ΩΜΟΥC , ΜΙΚΡΟΛΥΠΟΥC ΥΠΟ-
-ΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΕC ; ΕΞ ΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΜΙCΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΕΙCΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ
ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΕΙCΘΑΙ ΤΟΥC ΘΕΟΥC . ΠΩC ΓΑΡ ΟΥ ΜΕΛΛΕΙ , ΤΑ ΜΕΓΙCΤΑ
ΤΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΔΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥC ΟΙΟΜΕΝΟC ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ
ΓΕΝΗCΕCΘΑΙ ? ΜΙCΩΝ ΔΕ ΘΕΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΥΜΕΝΟC , ΕΧΘΡΟC ΕCΤΙ .
ΚΑΙΝ ΔΕΔΙΕ , ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ , ΚΑΙ ΘΥΕΙ , ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΠΡΟC
ΙΕΡΟΙC , ΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑCΤΟC ΕCΤΙ ; ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΥC ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥC ΑCΠΑ-
-ΖΟΝΤΑΙ , ΠΕΡΙΕΠΟΥCΙ , ΧΡΥCΟΥC ΑΝΙCΤΑCΙΝ ; ΑΛΛΑ ΜΙCΟΥCΙ CΙΓΗΙ ,
ΚΑΡΤΑ ΘΥΟΝΤΕC³ . ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΕΡΜΟΛΑΟC⁴ ΕΕΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ ,
ΠΑΥCΑΝΙΑC ΕΔΟΥΡΦΟΡΕΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ , ΧΑΙΡΕΑC ΓΑΪΟΝ ; ΑΛΛ
ΕΚΑCΤΟC ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΛΕΓΕ ΠΑΡΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΝ :

“ Η C ΑΝ ΤΙCΑΙΜΗΝ , ΕΙ ΜΟΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΓΕ ΠΑΡΕΙΗ : ”⁵

“ - - - ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑ ΤΟΥC CΥΡΟΥC ΛΑΒΕ ;
ΟΤΑΝ ΦΑΓΩCΙΝ ΙΧΘΥΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΙΝΑ
ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΚΡΑCΙΑΝ , ΤΟΥC ΠΟΔΑC ΚΑΙ ΓΑCΤΕΡΑ
ΟΙΔΟΥCΙΝ ; ΕΙΤΑ CΑΚΚΙΟΝ ΕΛΑΒΟΝ , ΕΙC Θ ΟΔΟΝ
ΕΚΑΘΙCΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΚΟΠΡΟΥ , ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΝ
ΕΞΙΛΑCΑΝΤΟ ΤΩΙ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΩCΑΙ CΦΟΔΡΑ .

conf. Selden, de Diis Syris II. 3, Voss, de Idol, Gentil. I. 23. [and Schedius, de Diis Germanis, p. 184, 185.]

³ As the word καρτα is Ionic, Wyttenbach is rather disposed to adopt the reading of some MSS: “κατα cειοντες .”
Thus Sophocles, Antig. v. 296.

“ - - - ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΩC
ΑΝΔΡΕC ΜΟΛΙC ΦΕΡΟΝΤΕC ΕΡΡΟΘΟΥΝ ΕΜΟΙ ,
ΚΡΥΦΗ ΚΑΤΑ CΕΙΟΝΤΕC - - . ”

and Hippoer., Ep. 20. p. 20. B:

ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟC ΥΠΑΚΟΥΩΝ , ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΜΕΙΔΙΑ , ΤΑ ΔΕ ΕΞΕΓΕΛΛΑ ,
ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΓΡΑΦΕΝ , ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝ ΘΑΜΙΝΑ ΕΠΕCΕΙCΕΝ .

through his shin-bones, cover his body with ulcers, and dissolve his liver.

XI. Is it, therefore, irreligious to speak evil things of the Gods, and not irreligious to think them? And is it not the thinking of the blasphemer [or curser] which maketh this speaking improper? For we also ourselves condemn blasphemy [or cursing,] because it is sign of malevolence; and those who speak ill of us we consider our enemies, [because we look upon them] as unfaithful and evil-minded. But see'st thou what the Superstitious think of the Gods? They believe them to be furious, unfaithful, changeable, revengeful, cruel, [and] easily offended. Whence [it is evident, that] the Superstitionist must hate and fear the Gods.

But how can he do otherwise [than fear them,] when he supposeth that the greatest of [his] misfortunes have happened to him, and will happen to him, through them? But he that hateth and feareth [the] Gods is their enemy. Even if he feareth, and [yet] worshippeth, and offereth sacrifice, and sitteth in the temples, he is not remarkable [in so doing]. For, in like manner, [men] compliment Tyrants, attend them, and erect golden statues to them, yet hate them in silence, [despite of] their frequent sacrifices. ³ Hermoläus ⁴ waited upon Alexander, Pausanias was in-the-body-guard of Philippus, as Chærea was in that of Caius [Caligula]; but each of these said, while following [his despot]:

“ I'd glut my vengeance on thee, if I could.” ⁵

⁴ Concerning Hermoläus, vid. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 696. C: Arrian. IV. 13, 14; Quint. Curt. VIII. 6. 7.

⁵ Iliad. X. 20.

ΟΥΚ ΟΙΕΤΑΙ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ Ο ΑΘΕΟΣ : Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ , ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΙ ΔΕ ΑΚΩΝ : ΑΠΙΣΤΕΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΦΟΒΕΙΤΑΙ . ΚΑΙ-ΤΟΙ ΓΕ , ΩΣΠΕΡ Ο ΤΑΝΤΑΛΟΣ ΥΠΕΚΔΥΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΙΘΟΝ ΥΠΛΑΙΩ-ΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ , ΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΦΟΒΟΝ , ΩΣ ΟΥΧ ΗΤΤΟΝ ΥΠ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΙΕΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ , ΑΓΑΛΗΣΕΙΕΝ ΑΝ , ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΕΙΕ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΝ , ΩΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ .

ΝΥΝΙ ΔΕ ΤΩΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΘΕΩΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΜΕΤΕΣ-ΤΙΝ : Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ , ΤΗΙ ΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΕΙ ΑΘΕΟΣ ΩΝ , ΑΣ-ΘΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Η ΩΣΤΕ ΔΟΞΑΖΕΙΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ Ο ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ .

ΧΙΙ. ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝ Ο ΑΘΕΟΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΟΥΔΑΜΗ ΣΥΝΑΙ-ΤΙΟΣ : Η ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΤΗΙ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΣΧΕΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ , ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΙ ΔΙΔΩΣΙΝ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ , ΟΥΚ ΑΛ-ΗΘΗ ΜΕΝ , ΟΥΔΕ ΚΑΛΗΝ , ΠΡΟΦΑΣΕΩΣ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΟΥΚ ΑΜΟΙΡΟΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ . ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΩΙ ΤΙ ΜΕΜΠΤΟΝ⁶ , ΟΥΔ ΕΝ ΑΣΤΡΟΙΣ , ΟΥΔ ΕΝ ΩΡΑΙΣ , Η ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΙΣ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ Η ΚΙΝΗΣΕΙΝ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΓΗΝ , (ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΙΣ⁷ ,) Η ΤΡΟΦΑΙΣ ΖΩΩΝ , Η ΚΑΡΠΩΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΣΙ , ΠΛΗΜΜΕΛΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΑΚΤΟΝ ΕΝΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ , ΟΥΤΩΣ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΕΓΝΩΣΑΝ . ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙ-ΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΘΗ ΚΑΤΑΓΕΛΑΣΤΑ^{*} , ΚΑΙ ΡΗΜΑΤΑ , ΚΑΙ ΚΙΝ-ΗΜΑΤΑ , ΚΑΙ ΓΟΗΤΕΙΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΜΑΓΕΙΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΔΡΟΜΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΤΥΜ-ΠΑΝΙΣΜΟΙ⁸ , ΚΑΙ ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΘΑΡΜΟΙ , ΡΥΠΑΡΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΓΝΕΙΑΙ , ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΚΟΛΑΣΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΠΗ-ΛΑΚΙΣΜΟΙ : ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΙΔΩΣΙΝ ΕΝΙΟΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ , ΩΣ ΜΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΕΟΥΣ

⁶ Redolet hæc dictio disputationem Stoici adversus Epicu-
reos, ejusmodi est illa apud Ciceronem (de Nat. Deor. II.
34): " Mundi administratio nihil habet in se quod reprehendi
possit: ex iis enim naturis quæ erant, quod effeci optimum po-
tuit effectum est. Doceat ergo aliquis, potuisse melius. Sed
nemo umquam docebit." Sæpe id inculcavit Chrysippus, teste
Plutarcho (de repugn. Stoic. p. 1051. B):

" ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΓΚΛΗΤΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ , ΜΗΔΕ ΜΕΜΠΤΟΝ , ΕΝ ΤΩΙ
ΚΟΣΜΩΙ , ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΓΕΓΡΑΦΩΣ - - . "

⁷ Platonica dictio ex Timæo, p. 530. E.

⁸ [Drums were used in the worship of Cybele, and of Moloch.]

The Atheist supposeth that there are no Gods: and the Superstitionist wisheth there were none; and believeth against his will, for he is afraid to disbelieve. Albeit, like Tantalus who seeketh to remove the stone from above [his head,] so also this [man would wish to remove] the fear, which fully as much oppresseth him, and would embrace, and hail as a blessing, the condition of the Atheist, as a [comparative state of] freedom.

So now therefore the Atheist in no wise participateth in [the misfortunes attendant on] Superstition; while the Superstitionist, being in his heart an Atheist, is too weak to think that of [the] Gods which he wisheth.

XII. Moreover, the Atheist giveth no handle whatsoever to Superstition; but Superstition hath given to Atheism [the very cause of its] existence, and, since it hath existed, furnisheth a plea in its favour — no true or excellent [plea] indeed, but one not deficient in some excuse. For [it was] not any thing reprehensible in the heaven,⁶ nor in the stars, nor in the seasons, nor in the periods of the Moon, nor in the motions of the Sun round the Earth, (which produce daylight and darkness,⁷) nor in the food of animals, nor in the production of fruits,—[it was not from] seeing [any thing] superfluous or disorderly [in these things,] that men fancied-they-knew that the universe is without-a-God. But it was the ridiculous^{*} actions and passions of Superstition, her [canting] words, her [frantic] motions, her juggleries, and enchantments, and perambulations, and drummings,⁸ and impure purifications and filthy sanctifications, and, at the temples, her barbarous and unlawful penances and bemirings. It is these things which make some

ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ , Η ΕΙΝΑΙ , ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ , ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΧΑΙΡΟΝΤΑΣ ; ΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ ΥΒΡΙΣΤΑΣ , ΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ ΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΟΥΣ , ΚΑΙ ΜΙΚΡΟΛΥΠΟΥΣ .

ΧΙΙΙ. ΟΥΚ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ ΟΥΝ ΗΝ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΙΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ⁹ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΥ-ΘΑΙΣ¹⁰ , ΤΟΛΑΡΑΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΘΕΩΝ , ΜΗΤΕ ΦΑΝΤΑΣΙΑΝ , ΜΗΤΕ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ; Η ΘΕΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ ΧΑΙΡΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΣΦΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΙΜΑCΙ , ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΩΤΑΤΗΝ ΘΥCΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΟΥΡΓΙΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΑΣ ? ΤΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙC ΟΥΚ ΕΛΥCΙΤΕΛΕΙ ΚΡΙΤΙΑΝ¹ ΛΑΒΟΥCΙΝ Η ΔΙΑΓΟΡΑΝ² ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΝ ΑΝ ΑΡΧΗΣ , ΜΗΤΕ ΤΙΝΑ ΘΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ , Η ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΘΥΕΙΝ ΟΙΑ ΤΩΙ ΚΡΟΝΩΙ ΕΘΥΟΝ ? ΟΥΧ ὥCΠΕΡ ΕΜΠΛΕ-ΔΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΗΣΙ , ΤΩΝ ΤΑ ΖΩΑ ΘΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΘΑΠΤΟΜΕΝΟC ,

“ ΜΟΡΦΗΝ Δ ΑΛΛΑΖΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΛΕΙΡΑC ,
CΦΑΖΕΙ , ΕΠΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟC ΜΕΓΑ ΝΗΛΙΟC , — ”³

ΑΛΛ ΕΙΔΟΤΕC , ΚΑΙ ΓΙΝΩCΚΟΝΤΕC , ΑΥΤΟΙ ΤΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΚΑΘΙΕ-ΡΕΥΟΝ . ΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΤΕΚΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΝΗΤΩΝ ΩΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΚΑΤΕCΦΑΖΟΝ ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΑΡΝΑC Η ΝΕΟCCOΥC . ΠΑΡΕΙCΤΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ Η ΜΗ-ΤΗΡ ΑΤΕΓΚΤΟC ΚΑΙ ΑCΤΕΝΑΚΤΟC ; ΕΙ ΔΕ CΤΕΝΑΖΕΙΕΝ Η ΔΑΚΡΥCΕΙΕΝ , ΕΔΕΙ ΤΗC ΤΙΜΗC CΤΕΡΕCΘΑΙ , ΤΟ ΔΕ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΗΤΤΟΝ ΕΘ-ΥΓΕΤΟ ; ΚΡΟΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΕΛΙΜΜΛΑΤΟ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΔΑΜΑΤΟC

⁹ I do not understand the force of this word ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙC : Λ ?

¹⁰ De religione humanarum victimarum apud Gallos, ex Po-
sidonio referunt Strabo (IV, p. 303. A. B.), Diodorus Sic.
(V. 31.), Pomponius Mela (III. 2.); sua ipse cognitione
Cæsar (Bell. Gall. VI. 16.). De *Scythiis* in proverbium fere
abiit, et hospitum sacrificium, et suorum popularium, vid. He-
rodot. IV. 61--70--72.

¹ Critias in Atheis numeratur ab aliis et Sexto Empirico
Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. (III, 218.) et adv. Mathem. (IX. 54.)
ubi egregium locum ex ejus Sisypho adfert. [conf. Reimmann.
Hist. Atheism. p. 123, 129, and 235 ; Budd, de Atheism. p.
20, 21. ; Bayle, Dict. art. “ Critias,” Notes H. and I. ; Dic-
tionnaire des Athées, p. 90, 91.]

² Diagoras Melius à Sexto Emp. cum Critiæ mentione con-
jungitur, et cæterum frequens est ejus nomen in Atheis, v. c.

[persons] say that it would be better, that there should not be (than that there should be) Gods, who can receive and bless such [ceremonies], and [be] so unjust, and so unreasonable and easily offended.

XIII. Would it not therefore have been better for those ⁹ Gauls and Scythians, ¹⁰ to have had no notion, nor idea, nor tradition, concerning [the] Gods, than to imagine the existence of Gods, who rejoice in the blood of slaughtered men, and who consider this the most perfect sacrifice and expiation? And how much would it have been better, for the Carthaginians, to have had a Critias, ¹ or Diogoras, ² for their first law-giver, nor to believe in any one among [the] Gods or Spirits, than they should sacrifice, what they sacrificed to Saturn!—Not as Empedocles saith, when alluding to those who sacrifice animals:

“ The Son, transformed, is slaughtered by his Sire,
Who silly fool, then offereth up his prayers.” ³

For, on the contrary, [the Carthaginians] sacrificed their children, knowing them, and recognizing them as such. And those who were childless purchased children from the poor, and slaughtered them like lambs, or young [pigeons]. The mother, in the mean while, stood by, without either weeping or groaning: for, if she sighed or wept, she lost the price [that had been agreed upon,] and her child was nevertheless sacrificed. And all [the space] before the image

Cicero (de Nat. Deor. I. 1. 23), Plutarch. (Mor. p. 880. D, 1075. A.) Alios etiam citant Wesselingius (ad Diodor. Sic. T. I, p. 546), Fabricius (Bibl. Gr., Vol. I, p. 817.).

³ Origines, contra Celsum (V. p. 615. E), eosdem versus citat, priore decurtato, et mutatos; integros, et alios ejusdem loci, omnino novem, apponit Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathem. (IX. 128, 129).

ΕΠΑΛΛΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΜΠΑΝΙΖΟΝΤΩΝ , ΕΝΕΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΗΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΡΗΝΩΝ ΕΞΑΚΟΥΣΤΟΝ⁴ . ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΥΦΩΝΕΣ ΤΙΝΕΣ Η ΓΙΓΑΝΤΕΣ ΗΡΧΟΝ ΗΜΩΝ , ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΕΚΒΑΛΟΝΤΕΣ , ΠΟΙΑΙΣ ΑΝ ΗΔΟΝΤΟ ΕΥΧΙΑΙΣ , Η ΤΙΝΑΣ ΑΛΛΑΣ ΙΕΡΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ⁵ ΑΠΗΙΤΟΥΝ ? ΑΜΗΣΤΡΙΣ ΔΕ , Η ΞΕΡΞΟΥ ΓΥΝΗ , ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΚΑΤΩΡΥΖΕΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΖΩΝΤΑΣ , ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΗΣ , ΤΩΙ ΑΙΔΗΙ⁶ ; ΟΝ Ο ΠΛΑΤΩΝ⁷ ΦΗΣΙ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΝ , ΠΕΙΘΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΩΙ ΚΑΤΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΤΑΣ ΨΥΧΑΣ , ΑΙΔΗΝ⁸ ΩΝΟΜΑΣΘΑΙ . ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ⁹ ΔΕ Ο ΦΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΥΣ , ΚΟΠΤΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΟΡ-ΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΗΝΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΟΡΩΝ , ΥΠΕΜΝΗΣΕΝ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΣ : “ ΟΥΤΟΙ , ΦΗΣΙΝ , ΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΘΕΟΙ ΕΙΣΙ , ΜΗ ΘΡΗΝΕΙΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ; ΕΙ ΔΕ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ , ΜΗ ΘΥΕΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ . ”*

XIV. ΑΛΛ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΟΥΤΩ ΠΟΛΥΠΛΑΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΠΛΑΘΕΣ ΝΟΣΗΜΑ , ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΙΓΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑΙΣ ΔΟΞΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΧΟΜΕΝΑΙΣ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ , ΩΣ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ . ΦΕΥΚΤΕΟΝ ΟΥΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ , ΑΣΦΑΛΩΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΣ ; ΟΥΧ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΙ ΑΝΙΣΤΩΝ Η ΘΗΡΙΩΝ ΕΦΟΔΟΝ , Η ΠΥΡ , ΑΠΕΡΙΣΚΕΛΤΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΟΓΙΣΤΩΣ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΕΣ , ΕΜ-

⁴ [conf. ^Λ Sched. de Diis Germ. cap. XXXIII. ^Λ]

⁵ I should imagine that ιεροϋργία differs from ευχία in being a sacrifice of a more initiatory, or sacramental, nature.

⁶ Ex Herodoto (VII. 114) :

ΑΜΗΣΤΡΙΝ . ΤΗΝ ΞΕΡΞΩ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΠΥΝΘΑΝΟΜΑΙ ΓΗΡΑΣΑΝ , ΔΙΣ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΟΝΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ , ΥΠΕΡ ΕΩΪΤΗΣ , ΤΩΙ ΥΠΟ ΓΗΝ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΩΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΕΩΙ , ΑΝΤΙΧΑΡΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΤΟΡΥΣΣΟΥΣΑΝ : *eujus loci a nostro dissensum notavit Wesselingius.*

⁷ In Cratylo, p. 265. C--F.

⁸ I have never read Plato, but I suppose that philosopher means, that Hades is derived from αδω (or ΑΝΔΑΝΩ) *placeo*, in which case there surely ought to be no Iota in the word ΑΔΗΝ.

⁹ ^Λ Aristoteles paulo aliter (Rhet. II. 23) :

ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ , ΕΛΛΙΑΤΑΙΣ ΕΡΩΤΩΣΙΝ , ΕΙ ΘΥΩΣΙ ΤΗΙ ΛΕΥΚΟΘΕΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΗΝΩΣΙΝ , ΕΙ ΜΗ ? ΣΥΝΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΝ , ΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΥΠΟΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΥΣΙ , ΜΗ ΘΡΗΝΕΙΝ ; ΕΙ ΔΕ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ , ΜΗ ΘΥΕΙΝ .

Athenæus (XV. p. 697. A) :

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ , ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΙ , ΕΙ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΕΨΕΥΣΤΑΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ , ΦΗΣΙΝ : “ ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΠΟΤΕ ΕΡΜΕΙΑΙ ΘΥΕΙΝ ΩΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩΙ ΠΡΟΑΙ-

was-made-to-resound with [the] musick of fifiers and drummers, that the noise of the [infant's] crying might not be too audible. ⁴

Now, if any Typhons, or Giants, had expelled the Gods, and ruled over us [in their place,] what [other] sacrifices would they have delighted in, or what other sacraments⁵ would they have chosen? Amêstris, the wife of Xerxes, caused twelve men to be buried alive, [as a propitiatory sacrifice] for herself, to Hades [or the Infernal Jupiter]; of whom [nevertheless] Plato saith, that he is called Hades, because⁷ he is philanthropical, wise, and rich, and governeth the souls by persuasion and reason. Moreover Xenophanes⁹ the Physician,¹⁰ seeing that the Egyptians lamented and wept at their festivals, made a very proper observation to them, saying " If they are Gods, do not weep for them; but, if they are men, do not sacrifice to them. " *

XIV. But there is no disease so full of errors and perturbations, and so much mingled with opposite and incongruous opinions, as Superstition. We must therefore avoid it; [but] safely and prudently; [and] not like those, who, when without reason or common sense, fleeing the attack of robbers, or of wild beasts, or a fire, fall in with untrodden paths,

-ΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ , ΩΣ ΘΗΗΤΩΙ ΜΗΗΜΑ ΚΑΤΕΚΕΥΑΖΟΝ ; ΚΑΙ ΔΘΑΝΑΤΙΖΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΦΥΣΙΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ , ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΙΣ ΑΝ ΤΙΜΑΙΣ ΕΚΟΣΜΗΣΑ ?" Α-

Exemplum secutus est Julianus, apud Cyrillum (VII. p. 224. D) de Solomone loquens :

ΕΙΠΕΡ ΟΥΝ ΥΠΟ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΗΛΑΤΗΘΗ , ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΣΟΦΟΝ ΜΗ ΛΕΓΕΤΕ ; ΕΙ ΔΕ ΛΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΚΑΤΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΝ , ΜΗΤΟΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΞΗΛΑΤΗΣΘΑΙ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΤΕ .

¹⁰ In the proper sense of the word *Physician*, that is (not a medical adviser, but) an investigator of natural effects and causes,

-ΠΙΠΤΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΝΟΔΙΑΣ ΒΑΡΑΘΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΗΜΝΟΥΣ ΕΧΟΥΣΑΣ . ΟΥ-
 -ΤΩΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΙΟΙ , ΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΝ , ΕΜΠΙ-
 -ΤΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΑ^κ ΤΡΑΧΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΟΝ , ΥΠΕΡΠΗΔΗΣΑΝ-
 -ΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΜΕΣΩΙ¹ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ .²

¹ Hæc Peripaticæ sunt rationis, virtutes μεσοτήτας facientis.

Thus Stobæus (Eclog. Ethic. p. 195):

ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΞΙΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΤΙ-
 -ΚΗΝ , ΜΕΤΑΖΥ ΟΥΣΑΝ ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΜΙΑΣ .

and Philo Jud. (de Immutab. Dei, p. 316. E), virtutis
 in mediam eamque regiam esse viam docens:

ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΩΣ ΔΕΞΙΟΝ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΜΕΤΑΔΙΩΚΟΥΣΙΝ , ΑΠΟ-
 -ΔΙΑΡΑΣΚΟΥΣΙ Δ ΩΣ ΦΕΥΚΤΟΝ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ . ΙΝΑ ΟΥΝ ΜΗ ΤΑΙΣ ΜΑΧΟ-
 -ΜΕΝΑΙΣ ΚΑΚΙΑΙΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΣΘΩΜΕΝ ΕΚΤΡΕΠΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ , ΤΗΝ ΜΕΣΗΝ
 ΟΔΟΝ ΕΥΘΥΝΕΙΝ ΒΟΥΛΩΜΕΘΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΩΜΕΘΑ ; ΜΕΣΗ ΔΕ ΘΡΑ-
 -ΣΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΛΙΑΣ , ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ ; ΡΑΙΘΥΜΙΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΚΚΕΧΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ
 ΦΕΙΔΩΛΙΑΣ ΑΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥ , ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ ; ΠΑΝΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ ΤΕ ΑΥ ΚΑΙ
 ΜΩΡΙΑΣ , ΦΡΟΝΗΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΝΗΜΗ ; ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ,
 ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑ ; ΑΥΤΑΙ ΜΕΣΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΑ ΕΚΤΡΟΠΩΝ ΕΙΣΙ ΒΑΣΙ-
 -ΜΟΙ , ΚΑΙ ΛΕΩΦΟΡΟΙ ΟΔΟΙ ΠΑΣΑΙ - - .

[And Horatius (Epist. II. 18. 9):

“ Virtus est medium vitiorum, et utrinque reductum. ”]

Platonica ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑ explicatur in dialogo Euthyphrone, et Epi-
 -nomide 703. H. sequ.

Stoica, Diog. Laert. VII. 119, ubi Menagius consulendus.

Ejusdem a duobus istis contrariis erroribus discernendae offi-
 -cium attigit Cicero (Divin. II. 72,) epilogo sane gravissimo.^λ

² I should wish that the word *Picty* were always reserved
 to denote filial affection; yet I am obliged to use it different-
 -ly here, because the word *Orthodoxy* is unfortunately always

HERE ENDETH THE TREATISE OF

full of pits and precipices. For thus some [persons,] avoiding Superstition, proceed so far as to fall into a rough and refractory Atheism,* instead of remaining at that [happy] medium, ¹ Piety. ²

understood in a ludicrous sense, at any rate by the present generation. Yet by the word εὐσεβεία Plutarchus evidently means a decent and orderly respect for the Gods, viz. *Orthodoxy*, i. e. a mild and gentlemanly compliance in the prevailing form of worship. As to the word *Religion*, though it is certainly often used in a good sense, (as for instance in the very apposite passage of Cicero, referred to, by Wyttenbach, in the last note,) yet I cannot help recollecting those verses of Lucretius :

“ Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.” B. 1, v. 84.

And

“ Tantane Religio potuit suadere malorum ! ” B. 1, v. 103.

I may here add, that there are many other passages of Lucretius which might have been aptly quoted in notes to various parts of this treatise ; as where the poet says (B. 3, v. 37) :

“ Et metus ille foras præceps Acheruntis agundus,
Funditus humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo,
Omnia suffuscans mortis nigrore ; neque ullam
Esse voluptatem liquidam puram que relinquit. ”

and again (B. 5, v. 1194) :

“ O genus infelix humanum ! talia Divis
Quom tribuit facta, atque iras adjunxit acerbis ;
Quantos tum gemitus ipsi sibi, quanta que nobis
Volnera, quas lacrimas peperere minoribu' nostris ! ”

PLUTARCHUS ON SUPERSTITION.



PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

TO

THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER

OF THE

CHARACTERS OF THEOPHRASTUS.

OBSERVATIONS
ON
THEOPHRASTUS.

Although Astius doubts whether this chapter were really written by Theophrastus, yet it may perhaps be worth while to say a few words concerning the author to whom it is attributed.

On the opposite page I give a table which presents a synoptic view of some of the philosophical Contemporaries of Theophrastus.

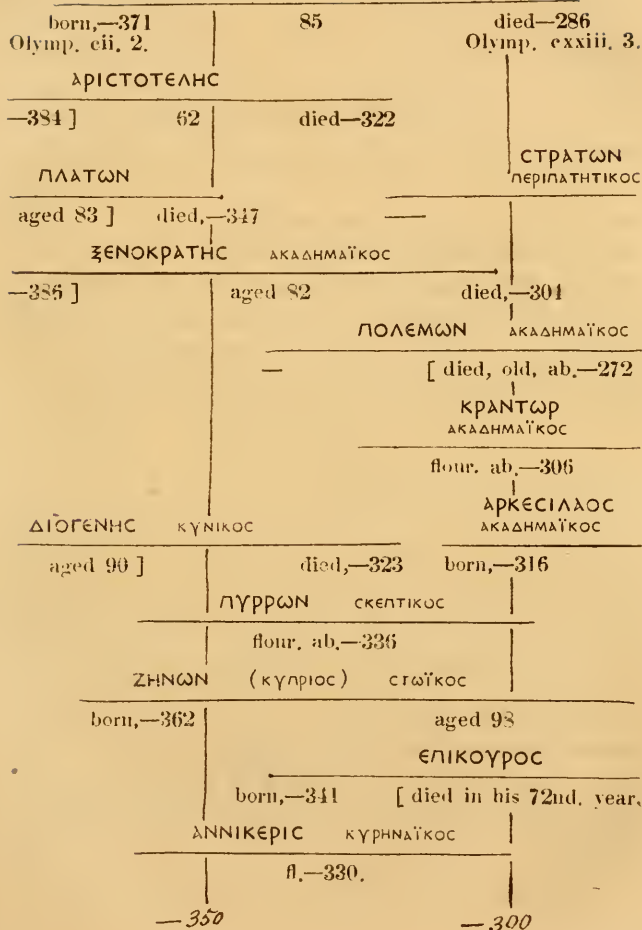
This Chronological Table is extracted from Priestley's biographical chart, and is adapted to the scale of an inch to 30 years.

The dates I have chiefly taken from the Biographie Universelle.

I use the *minus* sign to show that the years are measured (from the beginning of the Christian epocha,) *negatively*, or retrogradatively.

Observe that, according to Saxius, Theophrastus was born in Olymp. 97, 1. (i. e.—392), and died in Olymp. 123, 1. (i. e.—288), when consequently he was aged 104. And indeed the author of the letter prefixed to the Characters says of himself - - ΒΕΒΗΩΚΩΣ ΕΤΗ ΕΝΝΕΝΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΝΝΕΑ - - ; while, on the other hand, Diogenes Laertius says of Theophrastus: ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΑ ΔΗ ΓΗΡΑΙΟΣ , ΒΙΟΥΣ ΕΤΗ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΝΤΑ . Must we follow Casaubon, who would alter the numbers in Laertius; or Astius, who would reject the whole of the Proœmium to the Characters?

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΗΤΙΚΟΣ



The following are the references which Saxius in his *Onomasticon* (Vol. 1, p. 83, 84.) gives for the life and writings of *Theophrastus*.

Diogenes Laertius, Lib. V, Sect. 36-57. [p. 288-298, edit. Meibom.]

Vossius, de Philosophiâ, cap. XI, §. 32, p. 88.

de Philosophor. Sectis, cap. XVIII, §. 2, p. 85.

Jonsius, [de Script. Histor. Philosoph.] Lib. 1, cap. XIV, §. 2, p. 85.

Simson, Chron. ad A. M. 3682, and 3718.

Pope Blount, Censur., p. 36-38 [p. 100, 101, edit. 1690.]

Fabricius, Bibl. Græc., Lib. III, cap. IX, Vol. 2, [p. 234-255.]

Bruckerus, Hist. Crit. Phil., Vol. 1, p. 840-845.

Vol. 6, p. 244, 245.

Catal. Bibl. Bunav., Tom. 1, Vol. 1, p. 127-129.

- - - Vol. 2, p. 1646

- - - Vol. 3, p. 2129

Hamberger, Part. 1, p. 279-287.

Thus Saxius;

To whose references may, I believe, be added:

Th. Stanley's Hist. Phil., Part. 5.

Savérien's Phil. Anc., Tom. 3, p. 189-209.

Diderot's Opin. des Anc. Phil., Tom. 2, p. 425-427.

Coray's Discours Préliminaire sur la vie et les écrits de Theophraste.

The following books may be consulted with regard to Theophrastus's ideas of the Deity, or Supreme Principle.

Cicero, de Nat. Deor. The passage is quoted in Reimmann's Hist. Atheismi, p. 186.

Montaigne, Essais, Livre II, chap. xii; Tom. 3, p. 161, edit. 1818.

Cudworth's System. Intell. cap. 4. [Vol. 1, p. 644. edit. Mosh.] Dict. des Athées, p. 478.

The article given in the Biographie Universelle (Tom. 45, p. 342-348.) is, of course, the best account of Theophrastus that can any where be found. The author (Thiébaud de Berneaud) announces, that he intends, at some future time, to give a Life of Theophrastus, together with a collection of the fragments of his writings.

Theophrastus was one of the most voluminous writers of antiquity. Diogenes Laertius gives the titles of 229 of his treatises, some of which contained many books each. They treat of grammar, logic, rhetoric, poetry, music, ethics, mathematics, metaphysics, and especially of natural history, particularly botany. Of the vast mass of his writings, those which have survived the neglectfulness of his heirs,¹ and the destructiveness of barbarism, are the nine books of his *History of Plants*, six books of his *Causes of Vegetation*, seventeen of his treatises on various other physical subjects, and his *Characters*.

The last of these three works, is the only one which I need give any account of. It consists of 30 chapters. The first 15 of

¹ vid. Strab. B. 13, ch. 1; & Plutar. vit. Syll. p. 468, B.

these were published, in 1527, from a MS. previously belonging to Jo. Fr. Picus, Count of Mirandula. The next 8 were published in 1551, by Jo. Baptista Camotius. In 1598, Casaubon added 5 more Characters, copied, by Marquard Freher, from a MS. in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg. The 29th. and 30th. Characters were published by Amaduzzi, in 1786, from a MS. of the eleventh century belonging to the Library of the Vatican. Few books have been so often edited. A list of the Greek Editions is given in the Bibliotheca Britannica (art. Theophrastus); and, of course at much greater length, in Astius's Prolegomena to the Characters (p. 33-45). It appears that about 30 MSS., more or less perfect, of the Characters, are known to exist, and have been inspected.

The characters were translated into *French*, by Hiéronyme de Bénévent, in 1613; by La Bruyère, in 1688; by Lévesque, in 1782; by Belin de Ballu, in 1790; and by Dr. Coray, in 1799. They were translated into *Spanish*, in 1787; into *Italian*, in 1620, and 1761; into *German*, in 1606, in 1737, in 1754, &c, &c, of which the last apparently was in 1810.

The Bibliotheca Britannica gives the following account of the *English* Translations:

"The Characters of Theophrastus, translated from Mr. Bruyère's French version into English, by Eustace Budgell Esq. Lond. 1699, 1702, 8vo. A version which can be little trusted to.

The Characters of Theophrastus, translated from the Greek, by Eustace Budgell Esq. Lond. 1713, 8vo. Lond. 1714, 1715, 12mo. An excellent translation, characterized by Addison as being the best extant of any ancient author in the English language.

The Characters, translated from the Greek, with Notes,² by Henry Gally, M. A. Lond. 1725, 8vo. A useful translation."

² The title is given at length, in the Catal. Bibl. Bunav. Tom. 1, p. 128.

To these translations I may add one, which I have seen mentioned in some booksellers' catalogues, viz: "The Characters of Theophrastus, translated from the Greek, and illustrated by fifty physiognomical sketches, to which are subjoined the Greek Text, with Notes, and Hints on the Individual Varieties of Human Nature, by Francis Howell." Royal and Imperial 8vo.; published by J. Taylor. Lond. 1824.

In reprinting and translating the following chapter I have never had a sight of any English or Latin translation. Indeed the only book I possess which could be of any use to me, besides Astius's Edition of the Characters, is La Bruyère's translation of the work, with the *Avertisement*, and Notes of Schweighæuser, Paris, 1823, 18mo.^s.

Astius's Edition of the Characters (printed at Leipsick, in 1816,) is probably the most complete work of its kind in existence; but, in addition to his 48 pages of Prologemena, and (265-37, i. e.) 228 closely printed pages of Notes, I wish he would have condescended to favour such Ignoramuses as myself, with any one of the various Latin translations which exist of the Characters. I am moreover surprised, that neither Astius, nor apparently any other of the writers whom I have been able to consult with regard to Theophrastus, mention du Rondel's treatise on the 16th. Character. Albeit the Dictionnaire Historique, as also Ladvocat's Dict., mentions, at the art. "Rondel," that this friend of Bayle's wrote a "Discours sur le chapitre de Théophraste qui traite de la Superstition." Amsterdam, 1685, 12mo.

Schweighæuser's Notes are so far valuable, as they serve as a sort of counterpoise to those of Astius, as regards the importance of the additions contained in the MS. of the Palatine Library of the Vatican. Astius, when telling us, in his preface, p. 47, that this *Codex Palatino-Vaticanus*, which contains the 15 last chap-

-ters, excels all the other MSS. of the Characters "et antiquitate et præstantiâ", may perhaps say almost enough in favour of the authority of its readings, to counterbalance the criticisms, which, together partly with Siebenkees and Coray, he has brought against these readings.

I will conclude these preliminary observations by observing, that I have divided the chapter of Theophrastus into various portions, which, as far as depends upon the extraordinary method of constantly repeating the word "And," bear a great resemblance to the Hebrew verses given in our Bibles. In venturing to print the chapter with these subdivisions, I confess I have only followed my own fancy; though I think I may be justified, by the invariable peculiarity of style, which prevails throughout this and all the other chapters in Theophrastus's book. I know not why Astius has not turned our attention towards this peculiar style. An editor of the Characters (apparently Peter Needham) seems to allude to it, when he says³ "se Characteres istos in tantum emendatos dare conatum esse, in quantum natura operis, ΒΡΑΧΥ-ΛΟΓΙΑΙ ΑΝΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΙΚΗΙ adeo constricti, elliptica orationis structura sæpius hians ac interrupta, et periodi nullâ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΧΙΑΙ cohærentes, sed plurimum intercisæ, patiuntur." I know not whether it is to this sort of (Hebraical) style, that the writer in the *Bio-graphie Universelle* may allude, when saying: "Le défaut d'ordre de l'ouvrage provient de ce que nous ne le possédons pas en entier, et que ce que nous en connaissons n'est réellement, comme le dit Schneider, que des extraits faits par des plumes inexpérimentées, par des rapsodes."

N. B. In the following chapter, the passages under the line are the readings of the Codex Palatino-Vaticanus.

³ As quoted by Johannes Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca*, P. 6, p. 261, 262.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER

OF

THE CHARACTERS

OF

THEOPHRASTUS,

NAMELY

THE CHAPTER ENTITLED

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ.

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ

ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ.

¹ ΑΜΕΛΕΙ ² Δ Η ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ³ ΔΟΞΕΙΕΝ ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΔΕΙΛΙΑ ⁴
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ.

Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΙΣ . ΟΙΟΣ —

(Α) ΑΠΟΝΙΨΑΜΕΝΟΣ ⁵ ΤΑΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΡΡΑΝΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΕΡΟΥ ,
ΔΑΦΝΗΝ ⁷ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΟΜΑ ΛΑΒΩΝ , ΟΥΤΩ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΕΙΝ .

ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΔΟΝ ΕΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΡΑΜΗ ΓΑΛΗ ⁸ , ΜΗ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΟΡΕΥΘΗ-
-ΝΑΙ , ΕΩΣ ΑΝ ΔΙΕΞΕΛΘΗ ΤΙΣ , Η ΛΙΘΟΥΣ ΤΡΕΙΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΟΔΟΥ
ΔΙΑΒΑΛΗΙ . ⁹

ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΙΔΗΙ ΟΦΙΝ ¹⁰ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΟΙΚΙΑΙ (Β) , ΙΕΡΟΝ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΙΔ-
-ΡΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ .

ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΙΠΑΡΩΝ ΛΙΘΩΝ ¹⁴ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΡΙΟΛΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΙΩΝ ,
ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΗΚΥΘΟΥ ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΧΕΙΝ : ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΓΟΝΑΤΑ ΠΕΣΩΝ ,
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΑΣ , ΑΠΑΛΛΑΤΤΕΣΘΑΙ .

ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΜΥΣ ¹⁵ ΘΥΛΑΚΟΝ ΑΛΦΙΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΦΑΓΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΞΗΓΗ-
-ΤΗΝ ¹⁶ ΕΛΘΩΝ ΕΡΩΤΑΙΝ , ΤΙ ΧΡΗ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ : ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΑΛΟΚΡΙΝΗΤΑΙ

(Α) ΕΠΙΧΡΩΝΗΝ [or rather ΕΠΙ ΚΡΗΝΗΝ , or ΑΠΟ ΚΡΗΝΗΣ] . ⁶

(Β) ΕΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΙΑΝ ¹¹ , ΣΑΒΑΔΙΟΝ [or rather ΣΑΒΑΖΙΟΝ]
ΚΑΛΕΙΝ : ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΙΕΡΩΙ [or rather ΙΕΡΟΝ , or ΙΕΡΑΝ ¹²] ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ
ΙΕΡΟΝ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΙΔΡΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ . ¹³

THEOPHRASTUS

ON

SUPERSTITION.

¹ AND, of a truth, ² ΔΕΙCΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ³ [or Superstition] would seem to be a fear ⁴ towards the ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ-
ON [or Spirit.]

But the Superstitionist is such [a man] as [this]—
[He] will wash ⁵ his hands (A) and [come]
sprinkled from [the] temple, placing a [branch of]
laurel upon [his] mouth, and thus walk about
[the remainder of] the day.

And if, in the road, a weasel ⁸ run past [him,]
[he] will not go on, until some [other person]
cometh out [before him,] or, until he hath thrown
three pebbles upon the road. ⁹

And, if he see a serpent ¹⁰ in the house, (B) [he]
will build a temple there.

And when he passeth by the anointed stones ¹⁴ in
the places-where-three-roads-meet, he will pour oil
[upon them] out of the cruise, and falling upon
[his] knees, will worship [them,] and [so] depart?

And if a rat ¹⁵ eat through a sack of provisions,
[he] will go and ask the Expounder ¹⁶ what ought
to be done; and, if [this person] shall answer him

(A.) At a fountain. ⁶

(B.) If a serpent [called] Pareia, ¹¹ [or large-
cheeked,] he will call upon [the God] Sabazius,
but if a serpent [called] Hiera, [or Holy,] ¹² he
will immediately build there a temple. ¹³

ΛΥΤΩΙ , ΕΚΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΣΚΥΤΟΔΕΨΗΙ ¹⁷ ΕΠΙΡΡΑΨΑΙ , ΜΗ ΠΡΟΣΕ-
-ΧΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ , ΑΛΛ **↓** ΑΠΟΤΡΑΠΕΙΣ **↑** ΕΚΘΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ .

ΚΑΙ ΠΥΚΝΑ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΚΑΘΑΡΑΙ (C) .

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΙΒΗΝΑΙ ΜΝΗΜΑΤΙ ¹⁹ , ΟΥΤ ΕΠΙ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ ²⁰ ΕΛΘΕΙΝ ,
ΟΥΤ ΕΠΙ ΛΕΧΩ ²¹ (D) .

ΚΑΙ ΟΤΑΝ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΝ ²⁵ ΙΔΗΙ , ΠΟΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΝΕΙ-
-ΡΟΚΡΙΤΑΣ , ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΑΝΤΕΙΣ , ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΡΝΙΘΟΣΚΟΠΟΥΣ ,
ΕΡΩΤΗΣΩΝ , ΤΙΝΙ ΘΕΩΙ Η ΘΕΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕΙ .

ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΣΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ ²⁶ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΡΦΕΟΤΕΛΕΣΤΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ
ΜΗΝΑ ΠΟΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ : ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΣΧΟΛΑΖΗ Η
ΓΥΝΗ , ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ (E) .

ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΡΙΟΔΟΙΣ ΑΠΕΛΘΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΣ ΛΟΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ ,

(C) ΔΕΙΝ , ΩΣ [or rather ΔΕΙΝΟΣ] ΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΦΑΣΚΩΝ ΕΠΑ-
-ΓΩΓΗΝ ¹⁸ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΑΙ . ΚΑΝ ΓΛΑΥΚΑ ΒΑΔΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΑΡΑΤΤΕ-
-ΤΑΙ , ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΩΝ [perhaps ΚΑΝ ΓΛΑΥΞ ΒΑΔΙΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΠΑΡΙΠΤΗΤΑΙ , ΕΙΠΩΝ] “ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΩΝ ” ΠΑΡΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΟΥΤΩ
[perhaps ΟΥΤΩ ΠΑΡΕΛΘΕΙΝ] .

(D) ²² ΟΥΤ ΕΠΙ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ , ΟΥΤ ΕΠΙ ΛΕΧΩ ΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΘΕΛΗΣΑΙ , ΑΛΛΑ
ΤΟ ΜΗ ΜΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ [or rather ΜΙΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ] ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ ΦΗΣΑΣ ΑΥ-
-ΤΩΙ . ΚΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΑΙΣ ²³ ΔΕ , ΚΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΑΤΑΙΣ , ΠΡΟΣΤΑ-
-ΞΑΣ ΟΙΝΟΝ ΕΨΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΔΟΝ , ΕΞΕΛΘΩΝ ΑΓΟΡΑΣΑΙ ΜΥΡΣΙΝΑΣ , ΛΙ-
-ΒΑΝΩΤΩΝ [ΛΙΒΑΝΩΤΟΥ] ΠΙΝΑΚΑ : ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΘΩΝ ΕΙΣΩ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ
[ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΝ] ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΜΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΥΣ ²⁴ ΟΛΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ . ²²

(E) ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΡΡΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΗΣ . ΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΣ ΔΟΖΕΙΕΝ
ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ , [or perhaps ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΡΡΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΗΣ

that he must give it to the tanner¹⁷ to be sewn-together, he will not content himself with these [moderate counsels,] but will return, and will expiate [the evil omen] with sacrifice.

And [he] will frequently purify his house. (C)

And [he] will never approach a tomb,¹⁹ nor come near to a deadbody,²⁰ or to a woman in childbed²¹ (D).

And, when he hath seen a vision²⁵ during his sleep, [he] will go, to the diviners of dreams, to the sooth-sayers, to the observers of [the flight of] birds, and will ask them to what God, or Goddess, he ought to sacrifice.

And, having been initiated²⁶ by the Orpheotelestæ, [he] will go [to their mysteries] every month, with his wife; and, if his wife be not at leisure, with the nurse and the children. (E)

And, [he] will go out to the places-where-three-

(C.) constantly saying that there hath been a visit from Hecate.¹⁸

And, if an owl fly near him, while he is walking, he will cry "The victory is Minerva's," and will thus pass on.

(D.) He will be unwilling to come near to a dead body or to a woman in childbed; but will say, that it is better for him not to be polluted.

²² And, on the fourth,²³ and seventh [days of the month] he will order the inmates to cook some wine; and he will go out and buy branches of myrtle, and a box of frankincense; and, when he hath come [back] into [his house,] he will crown the Herm-Aphroditæ²⁴ during the whole day.²²

(E.) And he would seem to be one of those who are repeatedly purified by aspersion at the sea.

ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΕΣΑΣ , ΣΚΙΛΛΗ Η ΣΚΥΛΑΚΙ ²⁹ ΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ
ΠΕΡΙΚΑΘΑΡΑΙ . ³⁰

ΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ³¹ ΤΕ ΙΔΩΝ Η ΕΛΙΑΗΛΤΟΝ , ΦΡΙΞΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΚΟΛΠΟΝ ΠΥ-
-ΣΑΙ .

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΣ ΔΟΞΕΙΕΝ ΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ] : ΚΑΝ ΠΟΤΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΣΚΟΡΟΔΩΙ ΕΣΤΕΜ-
-ΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ²⁸ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΡΙΟΔΟΙΣ ΕΠΕΛΘΟΝΤΩΝ , ΚΑΤΑ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΣ
ΛΟΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ [perhaps ΣΚΟΡΟΔΩΝ ΕΦΗΜΜΕΝΟΝ ²⁷ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΡΙΟ-
-ΔΟΙΣ , ΑΠΕΛΘΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΣ ΛΟΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ .]

Here endeth the text and the English translation of

Let us now come to the notes which

-roads-meet, and wash his head [there].

And, [he] will call priestesses, and order himself to be purified ³⁰ by the circumgestation of a squil and a whelp. ²⁹

Also, seeing a madman, ³¹ or one-subject-to-epi-lepsy, [he] will shudder, and spit into [his own] breast.

And, if at any time he should see [a person] handling the garlick [which is found] at the places where-three-roads-meet, he will depart and wash his head.

the 16th. Chapter of the Characters of Theophrastus.

Astius hath written on this Chapter.

¹ Astius incloses the whole of this chapter between crotchets, as he also incloses the Preface and the whole of the 26th. and the 29th. chapters, together with the final paragraphs of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 8th. chapters. The reason, why he gives this mark of suspicion to the whole of the chapter now before us, seems to be expressed in the following part of his first note:

Recte Hottingerus non solum codicis Palatini additamenta, sed totum quoque caput, in quo homo superstitiosus non mimice exprimitur, sed cum antiquaria quadam accuratione ea enarrantur, quae ad superstitionem apud veteres pertinebant, suspecta habuit. Suspicionem movet iam vox ΔΕΙCΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ, quae serioribus demum temporibus eam significationem, qua usurpatur in hoc capite, videtur accepisse, et quidam Polybii fere tempore, qui (VI, 56. 7. Excerpt. XII, 24. 5.) hoc vocabulo hoc sensu usus est.

² [Similarly this word ΑΜΕΛΕΙ is used by Theophrastus at the beginning of the 13th, 18th, 23rd, and 25th. chapters. He also sometimes uses it in the middle of the chapter, as in the 21st, 24th, and 30th. Ernesti (as quoted in Hederic) explains the word "q. d. noli de hoc, quod aio, animo angi aut dubitare."]

³ "Alii sic definiunt: ΔΕΙCΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΕCΤΙ ΦΟΒΟΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ. Sed Theophrastus voce ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ et deos et daemones complexus est et quicquid divinitatis esse particeps male sana putavit antiquitas." *Casaub.*

⁴ "ΔΕΙCΙΑΝ accipe metum alium ab eo, qui pios decet. Scite enim Varro apud Augustinum dicebat: deum a religioso vereri, a superstitioso timeri." *Casaub.*

⁵ "Duplicem lavationem sive purificationem tangit; altera ad manus pertinet, altera ad totum corpus; illa proprie χερνιβ, haec περιπραντις appellatur, fiebatque ελλαωι, id est, ramo felicitis olivae, ut ait Virgilius (Aen. VI. 230.). Aqua vero lustralis, qua adaspergebantur, sic fiebat. Erat ad fores templi aquiminale quoddam magnum, quales fere tinctorum cortinae, in quod mergebantur titio ardente ab ara sumtum, quando victima adoletur; eaque aqua omnes, qui templum ingrediebantur, sese adaspergebant ipsi aut a sacrificulis adaspergebantur. Euripides Herc. Fur. (v. 928.):

ΜΕΛΛΩΝ ΔΕ ΔΑΛΟΝ ΧΕΙΡΙ ΔΕΞΙΑΙ ΦΕΡΕΙΝ
ΕΙC ΧΕΡΝΙΒ ΩC ΒΑΨΕΙΕΝ ΑΛΚΜΗΝΗC ΓΟΝΟC.

Athenaeus, quid sit χερνιβ explicans (IX, 18. p. 409. B.): ΕCΤΙΝ, inquit, γΔΩΡ ΕΙC Ο ΑΠΕΒΑΝΤΟΝ ΔΑΛΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΩΜΟΥ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΕC, ΕΦ ΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΘΥCΙΑΝ ΕΠΕΤΕΛΟΥΝ. Nec solum in tem-

-plis erant περιπραντήρια, sed etiam ad fori introitum, quorum saepe meminere oratores Graeci." *Casaub.* Vid. *Feith.* Antiq. Homer. I, 10. p. 71, et Append. p. 21. ed. Argentor. 1743. et *Potter.* Archaeol. II, 4.

⁶ Astius, rarely admiring the additions of the Palatine MS. here says:

Constat quidem, veteres adhibuisse in lustrationibus aquam fontanam (v. *Sophocl.* Oedip. Col. 460. *Virgil.* Aen. II, 719. IV, 635. VI, 229. sq. 635. sq. al.), sed marina quoque utebantur (v. *Homer.* Odys. II, 261. *Apollon.* Rhod. IV, 670. al.) vel aqua sale permixta (v. *Theocrit.* Idyll. XXIV, 44. al.) Igitur ἀπο κρήνης per se iam incommoda esset additio. Accedit quod verba ἀπο κρήνης vel ἐπὶ κρήνῃν ἐλέων non solum supervacanea essent, verum etiam orationis cohaerentiam turbarent; ἀπονήψαμενος enim cum v. ἀπο ἱεροῦ cohaeret. Aqua videlicet intelligenda est lustralis (ἱερὸν int. ὕδωρ), qua et manus sibi lavabant et corpus spargebant templum ingredientibus et ex eo egredientibus; h. e., τὸ χερνίβον (vid. *Homer.* Odys. III. 440. *Athen.* X, 408. C. *Eus-tath.* ad Odys. A. p. 1400. 58.).

⁷ "Moris fuit Graecis baculum laureum prae manibus habere, tanquam ἀλεξικακὸν φάρμακον, ut ait Suidas, quod crederent lauro inesse vim quandam malum averruncandi. Inde natum pro-verbium δαφνίνην φέρω βέλτηριαν (v. *Erasmii* Adag. I, 1. 79. p. 44. *Ed.*), cum quis negat se sibi ab alicuius insidiis metuere. Eodem etiam spectat, quod observare aliquando meminimus, solitos Graecos pro foribus laurum statuere; auctor Hesychius in voce κωμῶσα. Quod ait Theophrastus, laurum in os capi solitum a superstitionis, nescio an huic similis superstitio sit, quam apud Hieronymum in Marcellae viduae epitaphio adnotavimus. Sic ille: 'Nec mirum, si in plateis et in foro rerum venalium fictus ariolus stultorum verberet nates, et obtorto fuste dentes mordentium quatit.' Nam ariolorum consuetudo fuit (colligi potest ex Seneca de beata vita) laurum gestare, cum per urbem incederent, quam fustem videtur Hieronymus vocare, quia erat, credo, virga maiuscula e lauro. Hesychius (T. II. p. 34.): ἰσὺνθήριον ὁ φερού-σιν οἱ μάντιες σκῆπτρον ἀπο δαφνός." *Casaub.*

⁸ Mustela "fuit olim inter ea, quae occursu suo auspiciū facerent, quod Graeci vocabant ἐνοδιὸν σύμβολον." *Casaub.* Vid. *Aristoph.* Eccles. 787. ἡ διαίξειεν γαλή. *Plaut.* Stich. III, 2. 7. *Terent.* Phorm. IV, 4. 26. al.

⁹ "Ridere licet veterum stultitiam. Putarunt illi, cum aliquod triste signum apparuisset, posse id facile eludi, et quod ostendebatur periculum effugi, si vel verbis vel aliquo facto indicarent, se omen non accipere, sed abominari; verbis quidem, cum dicerent εἰς (rectius ἐκ *Ed.*) κεφαλῇ σοι, in caput tuum, omen nempe redeat; quae abominandi formula frequens est apud utriusque linguae scriptores; unius Senecae verba ponam ex *Consol. ad Marciam* (c. 9.): 'Quis non, si admoneatur, ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respuat, et in capita inimicorum aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa iubeat?' Re vero aut facto aliquo detestabantur, id, quod portendebat sinistrum aliquid, insectantes. Cum enim vel avis vel aliud infaustum animal occurrisset, periculo se defunctos putabant, si id lapidibus petissent et feriissent. Planissime *Dio Chrysost. Orat. XXXIV. (T. II. p. 34. Reisk.)*: ἀνὴρ φῦγξ ἐπὶ κτηνοῦς ἐβαδίζεν ; ὡς δ' ἐθεασάτο τινὰ κορώνην , οἰωνισαμένου λίθῳ βάλλει , καὶ πῶς τῦγχανεὶ αὐτῆς . Πάνυ οὐν ἡσὼν , καὶ νομίσας εἰς ἐκείνην τετραφῶαι τὸ χάλετον ἀναίρεται καὶ ἀναβάς ἡλαύνει ; ἡ δὲ μικρὸν διαλλοῦσα ἐνεσφῆλε , τὸ δὲ κτηνὸς πτοηθεὶς ἀποβάλλει τὸν ἀνδρα , καὶ ὁ πεσὼν καταγύσι τὸ σκέλος . " *Casaub.*

¹⁰ "Constat, serpentem vidisse in aedibus aut in itinere, triste auspiciū fuisse. Solebant autem loca, in quibus monstra fuerant visa, religiosa fieri; ut in eo loco, qui fulmine tactus esset, observabant. Idem putto fuisse observatum in aliis locis, ubi portenta visa fuissent. Hinc illa Platonis querela de superstitiosis hominibus, mulieribus praesertim, quas ait levissimas ob causas et pavores inanes impelli solitas, ut aras et sacella diis statuerent, ut iam, inquit Plato, nullus locus iis vacet, non domus ulla, non vicus (v. *Legg. IX. p. 909. E. p. 412. ed. nostr. Ed.*). Porro serpentes fere per impluvium e tectis descendebant in aedes, et ibi soliti conspici. *Plautus Amphitr. (V. 1. 56.)*: 'Devolant angues iubati deorsum in impluvium duo.' *Terentius Phorm. (IV, 4. 27.)*: 'Anguis per impluvium decedit de tegulis.' Eo igitur loco, ait auctor, sacella a sui tem-poris superstitiosis hominibus solita excitari."

¹¹ *Serpens λαρείας* (*Lucan. IX, 721. pareas*; inde sic dictus, quod malas habet magnas et tumentes), quia morsu neminem dicebatur laedere, *Aesculapio* sacer erat (vid. *Schol. ad Aristoph. Plut. 690, Aelian. H. A. VIII, 12.*); idem in sacris *Bacchicis* adhibebatur (vid. *Demosth. p. 313. Reisk. Valcken. ad Ammon. p. 185. Sprengel. in: Beytr. z. Gesch. d. Arzn. T. I. P. II. p. 180. et Bottiger. in libro qui est: über den Raub*

der *Kassandra* p. 54. n. 52.). Hinc *CABAZION* (cod. *Palat. CABADION*) *ΚΑΛΕΙΝ* : est enim *CABAZIOC* Bacchi cognomen, vid. *Schol. ad Aristoph. Av.* p. 583. *Vesp.* p. 432. et *Lysistr.* (v. 390.) p. 861. *Diodor. Sic.* IV, 4. *Davis.* ad *Cicer. de nat. deor.* III, 23.

¹² [*Aristot. H. A.* VIII. 29]: ΕΣΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΟΦΙΔΙΟΝ ΜΙΚΡΟΝ, Ο ΚΑΛΟΥΣΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ, Ο ΟΥ ΠΑΝΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙ ΟΦΕΙΣ ΦΕΥΓΟΥΣΙ; ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΠΗΧΥΑΙΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΔΑΣΥ ΙΔΕΙΝ; Ο ΤΙ Δ' ΑΝ ΔΑΚΗΙ, ΕΥΕΥΣ ΣΗΛΕΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΥΚΛΩΙ. *Schneiderus* ad-notat: "Aristotelis serpens, morsu venenatus, vix domesticus fuit; nec eum interpretari hodie ulla ratione possumus. Quin nullum plane genus pilosum serpentum cognitum adhuc habemus, nec, quis serpens iubatus veterum scriptorum fuerit, divinare mihi licuit. Nominis (ΙΕΡΟΝ) ratio, obscura nobis hodie, superstitiosum movet, ut aediculam exstruat in loco eo, ubi colubrum primum conspexerat."

¹³ Hoc additamentum Grammatico deberi eruditionem suam venditanti, nobis quidem persuasum est.

¹⁴ Lapidēs intelligi oportet in viis a viatoribus coli solitos. In universum veteres statuas et lapides ungere, coronare et religiose colere solebant, vid. *Theophr.* *Hist. Plant.* VI, 7. *Aelian.* V. H. IX, 39. *Eluēhorst.* ad *Arnob.* I. p. 22. *Ouzel.* ad *Minuc. Fel. Octav.* p. 15. sq. *Coray.* ad *Isocrat. Epist.* p. 317. et ad h. l. p. 254., ubi excitavit praeter Theophrastum iam laudatum *Athen.* XV. p. 679. *Plin.* XXI, 39. *Lucian.* *Con-templ.* 22. T. I. p. 519. De merc. cond. 28. p. 687. *Deor. Conc.* 12. T. III. p. 534. et *Plutarch.* *Aristid.* T. II. p. 530. Adde *Turneb.* *Advers.* I, 17. In proverbium autem abierunt uncti lapides. "Dicebant enim de homine superstitioso ΠΑΝΤΑ ΛΙΘΟΝ ΛΙΠΑΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙ. *Clemens Alexandr.* VII. *Strom.* (p. 302. T. II. p. 843. 22. *Potter.* ubi v. not. *Ed.*) ΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ Δ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΠΑΝ ΖΥΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΛΙΘΟΝ, ΤΟ ΔΗ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΛΙΠΑΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΟΥΝΤΕΣ. (*Lucian.* *Alexandr.* §. 30. T. I. p. 532. sq. *Schmied.* ΡΟΥΤΙΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ - - ΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΥ ΝΟΣΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΟΚΟΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΚΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΑΛΗΛΙΜΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΟΥ ΛΙΘΟΝ Η ΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΜΕΝΟΝ ΘΕΑΣΑΙΤΟ, ΠΡΟΣΚΙΝΩΝ ΕΥΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΠΑΡΕΣΤΗΚΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ Τ ΑΓΑΘΑ ΠΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΙΤΩΝ. *Ed.*) Meminit et *Apuleius* initio *Floridorum* (p. 340. *Elmenh.*): 'Neque enim iustius religiosam moram viatori obiecerit aut ara floribus redimita, aut spelunca frondibus inumbrata, aut quercus cornibus onerata, aut fagus pellibus coronata, vel enim colliculus seprimine

consecratus, vel truncus dolamine effigiatus, vel cespes libamine humigatus, vel *lapis unguine delibutus.*' Cf. *Tibull.* I, 1. 11. 16. *Ed.*)" *Casaub.*

¹⁵ " Etiam mures olim auspiciū faciebant; inprimis triste putabant, si quid mures arrosissent, vide Ciceronem de divinatio. II, 27. *Plinius* VIII, 57. *Augustin.* de doctr. Christ. II. Hinc sunt illa: cum vestis a soricibus roditur, plus timere suspicionem futuri mali, quam praesens damnum dolere. Unde illud eleganter dictum est Catonis, qui cum esset consultus a quodam, qui sibi a soricibus erosas caligas diceret, respondit, non esse illud monstrum, sed vere monstrum habendum fuisse, si sorices a caligis roderentur. Cf. *Clemens Alex.* (*Strom.* VII, p. 712. *Ed.*). --. Adeo autem familiare est muribus *εγλακογς* rodere, ut propterea *εγλακοτρῳες* a poetis appellentur. *Hesychius:* *εγλακο-τρῳξ*, *μῦς*, *οἱ δὲ ἀκρίς.*" *Casaub.*

¹⁶ " Hoc est, ad portentorum interpretum et divinum, qualis olim Athenis *Lampon* ὁ μαντικ, qui κατ' ἐξοχὴν dictus est ὁ ἐζηρητής." *Casaub.* Vid. ad *Plat. Legg.* p. 294.

¹⁷ Merito offenderunt Coraius et Hottingerus in hoc interpretis responso (coriario, *σκῦτοδεψή*, tradendum esse saccum a musculo perrosus, ut sarciaur), quippe quod ab eiusmodi hominum ingenio prorsus abhorreat.

¹⁸ *ἐπαγωγὴ* refertur ad magicam daemonum evocationem, vid. *Ruhnken.* ad *Tim.* p. 114. sq. et nostra ad *Plat. Polit.* p. 406. Male, si quid video, Coraius intelligit Lunae incursum ("*une attaque d' Hecate*, h. e., cette influence maligne que la Lune étoit supposée exercer sur les hommes, ainsi que les terribles effets qui en étoient la suite, et du nombre desquels étoit la maladie connue sous le nom d' *épilepsie* ou *mal caduc.*"). Bene contra *Schneiderus:* " Ad *ἐπαγωγὴν* pertinet locus *Hesychii* in *ὠλώτρε*. διὰ φαρμάκων εἰσθᾶσι τινες ἐπαγεῖν τὴν ἐκὰς τὰς οἰκίας. Ceterum est hoc novum superstitionis genus, cum putat homo timidus, invidi alicuius vel inimici sibi hominis venificio in domum inductam esse Hecaten; quare omnem domum lustrat diligenter. Quae fuerint indicia inductae Hecates, non memini legere traditum a scriptoribus."

¹⁹ " *Hesiod.* *εργ.* 748. [or 695.]

ΜΗΔ ΕΝ ΑΚΙΝΗΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΘΙΞΕΙΝ (ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ)

ΠΑΙΔΑ ΔΥΩΔΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΝ , Ο Τ ΑΝΕΡ ΑΝΗΝΟΡΑ ΠΟΙΕΙ .

Nota sunt bustorum formidamina et monumentorum terriculamen-

-ta." *Casaub.* Vid. *Kirchmann.* de funer. Rom. II, 21. p. 175. sq.

²⁰ Funesta erat domus, in qua quis mortuus esset; idcirco, ne inscius aliquis ingrederetur et se imprudens pollueret, indicia apponebantur foribus, vas aqua lustrali plenum (ἈΡΔΑΝΙΟΝ), capilli de ipsius defuncti capite secti, apud Romanos cupressus, al. Vid. *Casaub.* ad h. l. et *Kirchmann.* I, 14. p. 71. sq.

²¹ [conf. Euripid. Iphig. Taur. 380, which I have quoted above, in my reprint of Plutarch's treatise, p. 39.]

²² [*These words*] plura continent e serioris, ut videtur, antiquitatis cognitione deprompta, de quibus nihil certi posse statui equidem existimo. Ceterum non mimica haec est hominis superstitiosi descriptio, sed antiquaria morum superstitiosorum enarratio.

²³ Quartus cuiusque mensis dies Mercurio et Herculi vel Minervae (vid. Schol. ad Aristoph. Plut. 1127. *Plutarch.* Thes. T. I. p. 75. Reisk.) et septimus Apollini (serioribus, ut videtur, temporibus etiam Veneri, v. *Schweighaeus.* ad Bruyer. p. 74. sq.) sacer erat, vid. Philochor. ap. Procl. ad Hesiod. epr. 770. et Schol. ad Aristoph. Plut. 1127. Coraius observat, ap. Aristoph. Vesp. 857. thus cum myrtis et σιπαίωι seu vino cocto itidem coniungi. *Schweighaeuser* ad Bruyer. p. 74: " Le vin cuit est relatif à des libations ou à des sacrifices, et les branches de myrte appartiennent au culte de Venus." Idem vir doctus textum esse corruptum censebat; sextum enim, non septimum, diem Veneri consecratum fuisse, laud. *Iamblich.* vit. Pythag. c. 28. §. 152. Cf. Nov. Bibl. litt. elegant. V. LXXII. p. 92. sq. Equidem nihil in hoc loco pro certo affirmari posse iudico.

²⁴ Etiam de Hermaphroditorum religione nihil constat. Athenis fuisse Hermaphroditum templum, ex Alciph. Epist. III, 30. patet, ut *Schneiderus* iam observavit. Notus est Hermaphroditus, Mercurii et Veneris filius, utriusque sexum habens (v. *Ovid.* Metamorph. IV, 285. sq. *Hygin.* f. 217.). Etiam Halicarnassi, Vitruvii auctore II, 8., Veneris et Mercurii (i. e., Hermaphroditum) fanum erat ad Salmacidis fontem, cuius cultum feminis praecipue familiarem fuisse *Schneiderus* (p. 212. ind. edit. min.) opinabatur.

²⁵ " Notum est, veteres, cum triste aliquod insomnium viderant, ἈΠΟΤΡΟΙΑΣΜΟΥ χάριν sacra quaedam factitasse. V. Aristoph. Ran. (1376.) :

ἈΛΛΑ ΜΟΙ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΟΙ ΛΥΧΝΟΝ ΔΨΑΤΕ,
ΚΑΛΙΝΙΣ Τ' ΕΚ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ ΔΡΟΣΟΝ ΑΡΑΤΕ,

ΘΕΡΜΕΤΕ Δ ΥΔΩΡ :

ΩΣ ΑΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΝ ΑΠΟΚΛΥΣΩ .

Martial. XI, 50 :

Amphora nunc petitur nigri cariosa Falerni,

Expiet ut somnos garrula saga tuos. "

Casaub.

²⁶ Verbum ΤΕΛΕΣΘΗΝΑΙ h. l. latiori sensu positum est, ut sit *expiari* (ΤΕΛΕΙΝ enim, ut constat, de omnibus usurpatur, quae ad res divinas pertinent). Et praecipue erat Orpheotelestarum, precum formulis carminibusque superstitiose confictis, hominum scelera expiare. vid. *Plato* Polit. II, 7. p. 364. E. ubi cf. not. p. 407. De ΟΡΦΙΚΑΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ vid. *Herod.* II, 81. *Aristoph.* Plut. 1059. ibique Spanh. T. III. p. 260. Beck. *Eurip.* Rhes. 943. *Diod. Sic.* III, 64. et *Creuzer.* in: Symbol. et Mythol. T. III. p. 150. sq. [Let me here add Schweighæuser's note to this passage: " On ne se faisait pas initier tous les mois, mais une fois dans la vie, et puis on observait certaines cérémonies prescrites par ces mystères. - - - Il faut observer, au reste, que les mystères d'Orphée sont ceux de Bacchus, et ne pas les confondre avec les mystères de Cérés. Toute la Grèce célébrait ces derniers avec la plus grande solennité, au lieu que les prêtres d'Orphée étaient une espèce de charlatans ambulans, dont les gens sensés ne faisaient aucun cas, et qui n'ont acquis de l'importance que vers le temps de la décadence de l'empire romain. "]

²⁷ ΕΦΑΝΤΕΣΘΑΙ, attingere, est, ut constat, etiam capessere, sumere, passivum vero, ut solet, vim activi habet, vid. ad Plat. Legg. p. 448. Superstitiosus homo, si quem videt allium arripientem idque in trivio (ubi *Hecatae* constat ova, caseos al. homines divites vesperi apposuisse, quae pauperes rapere solebant, vid. ad c. X.), pro impuro illum habet, caput sibi lavat, tanquam adpectu istius contaminatum, et scilla vel catulo se expiat. Verba ΣΚΟΡΩΔΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΡΙΟΔΟΙΣ vel ad coenam *Hecatae* in triviis s. compitis apponi solitam referre, vel omnino allium in triviis forte reptum intelligere poteris (triviis enim et quadriiviis praesesse credebatur *Hecate*, vid. *Euer. Otto* de Tutela viarum I, 8.). Accedit, quod alio veteres vim tribuebant expiandi et malum avertendi (v. *Pers.* V, 180. ibique interpp.), et nefas habebatur, eiusmodi res attingere, *Porphyr.* de abst. II, 44: ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΙ ΩΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΙ, ΩΣ ΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΤΕΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΙΣ ΕΥΣΙΑΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΥΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΤΛ. Certe propius accedit haec scriptura ad libri Palatini lectionem, sensumque praebet, ut credo, haud incommodum.

²⁸ [Astius, in this extract, and correction, twice gives a κ. τ. λ., which I have ventured to fill up, in order that it may be seen to what my English translation refers.]

²⁹ Tangit duplicem veterum consuetudinem expiandi lustrandique se; altera erat circumacta circa corpus scilla, altera catulo similiter circa corpus ducto: hoc enim significat περικαθαραι. De scilla, quod expiandi vim crederetur habere, notum vel ex Plinio et medicorum libris (v. *Plin.* XX, 19. XXI, 17. XXVII, 12. *Cels.* III, 21. V, 28. VI, 8. Vid. *Theophrast.* hist. Plant. VII, 12. *Clem. Alexandr.* Strom. VII. p. 843. sq. al. *Ed.*). De catulo, res minus vulgo, ut videtur, nota. Verum est, quod diximus, veteres catulo solitos lustrare se, eum circumferentes circa corpus, eamque lustrationem vocabant περικυλλαισμον. *Plutarch.* Quaest. Roman. (T. II, p. 280, C.), vit. Romul. (T. I, p. 31, E.)." *Casaub.*

³⁰ "Significat hoc verbum applicare aliquid corpori, expiandi causa, idque in orbem ducere, quod et περιμαζαι dicitur, Latinis circumferre." *Casaub.* qui praeterea excitavit Virgil. Aen. VI, 226. ubi Servius: circumtulit, purgavit. Antiquum verbum est. Vid. *Plaut.* Amphitr. II, 2. 143. *Claudian.* in Panegyrico Honorii, sexto eius consulat. (v. 324. sq.) al.

³¹ *Plautus* Captiv. III, 4. 15:

Hegio, hic homo rabiosus habitus est in Alide.
Ne tu, quod istic fabuletur, aures immittas tuas;
Nam istic hastis insectatus est domi matrem et patrem,
Et illic isti, qui sputatur, morbus interdum venit.
Proin' tu ab istoc procul recedas.

Morbus, qui sputatur (hinc πτυσαι εις κολλον) est morbus caducus s. epilepsia. *Plinius* H. N. X, 23: comitalem propter morbum despui suetum. XXVIII, 4: despuimus comitiales morbos, hoc est, contagia regerimus. — Verba πτυσαι εις κολλον conveniunt illis ap. *Tibull.* I, 2. 96:

Despuat in molles et sibi quisque sinus.



APPENDICES.

APPENDIX THE FIRST.

ON THE SUPPOSED NECESSITY OF DECEIVING THE VULGAR.

THE reception of a certain maxim, is, I think, the principal cause why Superstition, tho' occasionally written against, and partially (or at any rate nominally) condemned, is yet able to exist and to flourish. We may indeed attribute a great part of the success of Superstition—to the principles of fear, ideality, and wonder, inherent in the human mind;—to the influence of educations formed by brutish nurses and dogmatical pædagogues;—and to the excitement occasioned by the gloomy prophecies and furious denunciations of pulpited hypocrites. But the grand support of Superstition is from those whose greatest interest it is to put down Superstition. Physicians, historians, legislators, school-masters, newspaper-editors, and political-æconomists, are the most enlightened and useful of literati; and, if properly united, for their own (the public) benefit, might rule the world. Yet do these very men (who, in a land of perfect Superstition, would for the most part be annihilated) uphold and protect their arch-enemy, by maintaining the fatal maxim, that *it is necessary to deceive the vulgar*.¹

It would be superfluous to show how much ancient *priests* followed this maxim, in keeping for themselves sublime doctrines while they fed the people with fables. This is sufficiently well

¹ That branch of the subject which considers *silence* as a means of deceit, I am not yet prepared to treat upon; but may refer, ex. gr., to a passage in Lardner's works, vol. 4, p. 164, edit. 4to.

known,² especially as regards the Egyptians. But even *legislators* condescended to use these tricks.* Diodorus Siculus (B. 1, p. 59), after mentioning that *Mneues*, the first mortal legislator among the Egyptians, pretended to derive his laws from Hermes, adds: "Similarly it is said, that, of the Græcians, *Minos* in Crete, and *Lycurgus*³ in Lacedæmon, gave out that they had derived their laws, the one from Jupiter, and the other from Apollo. And among most other nations it is reported, that this maxim obtained, and was a cause of great advantages to the believers. For it is related, that, among the Arimaspians, *Zathraustes** feigned that he had received his laws from the Agathodæmon; as, among those who are called Getæ, *Zamolxis* feigned that he had received his, from the great goddess of their republic, Vesta; and as, among the Jews, *Moses*⁴ feigned that he had received his from a God called Iao;—either judging that an idea which was to be useful to a multitude of men, was altogether divine and wonderful;—or considering that the vulgar would be more obedient, when contemplating the power and magnificence of those who were said to have promulgated the laws."

Thus Diodorus: to whose list of divinely-commissioned Legislators may, I think, be added some other Græcians,⁵ viz.—*Triptolemus* (if there was such a person) the missionary of Ceres,—*Zaleucus*, who was assisted by Minerva,⁶—and *Solon*, who availed himself of the sanctity of Epimenides.

² I believe that the subject is investigated by Toland, in his *Cleiodorus*; but it is three or four years since I ever saw that book, and all that I recollect of it is, that it quotes one of the following passages, either that from Diodorus or that from Strabo.

³ Clemens Alex. (strom. B. 1, p. 422, edit. Potter) blames the pagans for rejecting Moses, while they believe in Minos Lycurgus and Zaleucus.

⁴ *Moses* is scandalously compared to *Numa*, in the famous "Moï-sade," written by J. B. Rousseau, or perhaps by Lourdè. The poem is inserted in note (4) of (Duvernet's) "Life of Voltaire."

⁵ Compare what is said of even Lycaon, by an author in Suid., ap. Fabric., B. Gr., vol. 1, p. 548. Fabricius adds, in a note: "Plura ejusmodi Legislatorum leges suas ad Deos referentium exempla collegit Balthasar Bonifacius, Historiæ ludicræ xix, 1. E veteribus Diodorus Siculus lib. 1, p. 48, & Valerius Max. lib. 1, c. 2." A

⁶ vid. Plutarch. "de sui laude," tom. 3, (P. 1, vol. 5) p. 192, edit. Wytténb.; & Clem. Alex., strom. B. 1, p. 422, edit. Potter.

But the great chief of deceptive Legislators was *Pythagoras*, whose followers,⁷ to the latest ages, appear to have delighted in working miracles. The Platonists, also, (or rather *Plato*⁸ himself, and the *Neo-Platonicians*, as distinguished also from that Sceptical sect the *Academics*;) seem to have been fond of mysterious imposture.⁹ The *Stoics* were hypocritical and dogmatical.

*Euripides*¹⁰ said, that, in the early state of society, some wise man insisted on the necessity of darkening truth with falsehood, and of persuading men that there is an immortal Deity,¹ who hears and sees and understands our actions.

The eristic philosopher *Stilpo*, when Bion, and at another time Crates, asked him in the street, concerning the Gods, replied, that he could not speak upon this subject where the vulgar could hear him. (vid. *Diogen. Laert.*, B. 2, ch. 117).

⁷ ex. gr. *Empedocles*, and (five centuries afterwards) *Apollonius Tyanæus*. See also the 3rd. Dissertation of the *Pythagorean Mimas*, in Gale's *Opuscula*, tractat. penult. p. 61-65.

⁸ vid. infra p. 16, note 5; & conf. Blount's *Anima Mundi* p. 58; and Gale's *Pythagoric fragments*, p. 61, note 1.

⁹ Plato (*de Republ.* B. 2, & 3; *Oper.* vol. 4, p. 108—138, edit. Ast.) introduces Socrates as condemning a great many poetical fictions concerning the gods; but as considering that rulers might lie for the benefit of the state (conf. *Vanini amphitheatr.* p. 36).

¹⁰ In one of his tragedies quoted in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise, *de placitt. philos.*, B. 1, ch. 7. Sextus Empiricus seems to be wrong in referring the verses to Critias, vid. Mosheim's *Cudworth*, vol. 2, p. 72, 73.

¹ Cudworth argues at great length (*syst. intell.* vol. 2, p. 128-142) that the notion of a Deity was not invented by legislators. He relies especially upon the argument of (the sceptic) Sextus, that then it is not explained whence the legislators themselves derived this notion. But Sextus seems not to speak of *the Deity* (a philosophical abstraction) but of *the Gods* (the sprites or dæmons of the vulgar). If therefore "*primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor*" some legislators may possibly have availed themselves of the ignorance of the superstitious, so as to methodize and concatenate political religions. Cudworth's annotator (p. 138) grants part of this argument. He also (very safely) allows, that Mahomet and Oliver Cromwell made a tool of religion.

Strabo (Geogr. B. 1, ch. 2) shews, at great length, the general use, and important effects, of theological fables: "It is not possible for a philosopher to conduct, by reasoning, a multitude of women² and of the low vulgar; and thus to invite them to piety, holiness, and faith. But he must also make use of superstition; and not omit the invention of fables,³ and the performance of wonders. For the lightning, and the ægis, and the trident, and the thyrsolonical arms of the Gods, are but fables; and so is all ancient theology. But the founders of states adopted them as bugbears to frighten the weak-minded."

The deep policy of the *Romans*, in religiously deceiving the vulgar, is well known.

Thus *Numa* (if there ever was such a person) pretended to derive legislative information from the goddess *Egeria*:⁴ "--- ne luxuriarentur otio animi, --- omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem inperitam, et illis seculis rudem, efficacissimam, Deorum metum^{*} injiciendum ratus est: qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum Deâ *Egeriâ* congressus nocturnos esse: ejus se monitu, quæ acceptissima Diis essent, sacra instituere; sacerdotes suos cuique Deorum præficere." Thus *Livius*, B. 1, ch. 19. And *Plutarchus* (in *Vitis*, p. 62, D & E), after requiring us to believe that *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaster*, *Numa*, and *Lycurgus*, were visited by the deity, says of them, that ὡς ΔΥΣΚΑΘΕΚΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΑΡΕΣΤΑ ΠΛΗΘΗ ΧΕΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ, --- ΠΡΟΣΕΠΟΙΗ-
-ΣΑΝΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΟΞΑΝ, ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ, ΠΡΟΣ ὍΥΣ ΕΞΗΡΜΑΤΙΖΟΝΤΟ, ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ. And further on (p. 64, E) we read, of *Numa* alone: --- ΗΓΑΓΕΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑΝ, --- ΔΗΜΑΓΩΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΒΑΚΕΛΩΝ ΤΟ ΕΥΜΟΕΙΔΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΟ-
-ΛΕΜΟΝ. ΕΣΤΙ Δ' ὍΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΥΣ ΤΙΝΑΣ⁵ ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΛΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ

² conf. *Strabo*, B. 7, ch. 3; quoted in *Heraldus's* note to *Minut.* Fel. p. 115; and in *Hume's* *Essays*, vol. 2, p. 393. See also the *Syst. de la Nat.* tom. 4, p. 213, note; & *Sylvain Maréchal* "Pour & contre la Bible" p. xxxiv, xxxv.

³ *Macrobius* speaks of the use of mythological fables in *Somn.* *Scip.* p. 4-7. So also *Salustius*, de *Diis*, ch. 3 & 4; in a note to which, *Gale* (p. 36) refers to "*Proclus*, *Theol. Plat.* lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 10; & multò copiosius *dissert.* 5. in lib. de *R. P.* p. 369."

⁴ vid. *Ennius*, *Cicero*, & *Dio Chrysost.*, referred to by *Fabric.*, B. *Gr.*, vol. 1, p. 548. *Fabricius* adds that *Romulus* pretended to have derived his laws from *Consus*.

⁵ An interlocutor in *Plutarch's* "non suaviter vivi secundum Epi-

ΘΕΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΦΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ ΑΛΛΟΚΟΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΦΩΝΑΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΥΜΕ-
-ΝΕΙΣ, ΕΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΗΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ὙΠΟ
ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ.¹

The hone-cutting-razor-miracle,² achieved by Tarquinius Priscus and Attius Navius, was probably got up for political purposes.

The Dictator *Camillus* was a very religious man; his speech³ to the Romans, after the Gauls had retired, principally turns upon the importance of the national religion; and the military tribunes created by him “nullâ de re prius, quàm de religionibus, senatum consu-
-luère. In primis fœdera ac leges -- conquiri, quæ comparerent, jusserunt; alia ex eis edita etiam in vulgus: quæ autem ad sacra pertinebant, à pontificibus maxime, ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis animos, subpressa.” (vid. Liv., B. 6, ch. 1).

The elder *Scipio* Africanus constantly pretended to be peculi-
-arly favoured by the gods. Thus he took care frequently to go alone to the Capitol, where the vulgar imagined that he received some revelation from the deity. Polybius praises this policy, and compares it to that of Lycurgus (vid. Biogr. Univ., tom. 41, p. 301, b; conf. p. 300, b; 311, a; & 322, a).

The pontifex maximus *Scævola* thought it expedient that the people should be deceived in religion; and the learned *Varro* said plainly, that there are many truths, which it is useless for the vulgar to know; and many falsities which it is fit the people should not suppose are falsities.⁴ Hence comes the adage “Mundus vult decipi,⁵ decipia-
-tur ergo.”

-curum” (p. 1104, B. edit. Xyl.) argues that Superstition is of use to keep the wicked from crime. But afterwards (p. 1105, B.) he ac-
-knowledges, that most persons regard the infernal punishments as mere nurses’ stories; and that those who do fear them, secure them-
-selves by religious ceremonies and purifications.

¹ By a sort of poetical justice, the writings of *Numa*, when found about four [or nearly five] hundred years after his death [U. C. 573; ant. Chr. 181], were burnt by order of the Senate; the prætor Peti-
-lius having declared: ΜΗ ΔΟΚΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΘΕΜΙΤΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΜΗΔΕ ὍΣΙΟΝ,
ΕΚΚΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΤΑ ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ. (Plutar., vit. Num.,
p. 74, E).

² vid. Liv., B. 1, ch. 36; & Cicer., de N. D., B. 2, ch. 9; & de
divin., B. 1, ch. 31-33; B. 2, ch. 80.

³ vid. Liv., B. 5, ch. 51, 52.

⁴ vid. Augustin. de civ. Dei, B. 4; as quoted by Cudworth, syst.
intell. vol. 1, p. 672, & 812-813; conf. Vanin. amphitheatr. p. 36;

The religious policy of the *Roman* government, especially in *later* times, is inimitably described in the following passages of Gibbon :

"The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered,—by the people, as equally true,—by the philosopher, as equally false,—and by the magistrate, as equally useful." (Decl. & Fall, ch. 2, vol. 1, p. 46).

"Notwithstanding the fashionable irreligion which prevailed in the age of the Antonines, both the interests of the priests and the credulity of the people were sufficiently respected. In their writings and conversation, the philosophers of antiquity asserted the independent dignity of reason: but they resigned their actions to the commands of law and of custom. Viewing, with a smile of pity and indulgence, the various errors of the vulgar, they diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers, devoutly frequented the temples of the gods; and sometimes condescending to act a part on the theatre of superstition, they concealed the sentiments of an Atheist under the sacerdotal robes. Reasoners of such a temper were scarcely inclined to wrangle about their respective modes of faith, or of worship. It was indifferent to them what shape the folly of the multitude might chuse to assume; and they approached, with the same inward contempt, and the same external reverence, the altars of the Lybian, the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter."

Thus Gibbon (vol. 1, p. 49, 50; read also p. 51).

After mentioning the opinions of those most enlightened Pagans, the Græcians and Romans, it is scarcely necessary to shew how much the doctrine of deceit was practised by less free-minded Polytheists.⁶ I will only give the following well-known instance. The Indian Sophist *Xekia*,⁷ when on his death bed, delivered to

Blount's anim. mund. p. 58; and Montesquieu's most interesting and important "Dissertation sur la politique des Romains dans la religion."

⁵ A graphical illustration of this motto constitutes the frontispiece of the "Charlatanerie des Savans."

⁶ The *Druids* did not commit their doctrine to writing, "quod neque in vulgus disciplinam efferri velint." (Cæsar, de bell. gall., B. 6, ch. 4).

⁷ Espr. de l'Encycl. art. "Asiatiques." tom. 2, p. 251; conf. p. 283. And let me here observe, that *Zoroaster* (if he ever existed), and, many centuries afterwards, *Manes* (of whose existence I have some doubt), are said (like Pythagoras) to have concealed themselves in

his disciples his secret dogmata, adding that they should abandon the exoteric doctrine to the people, and themselves at any rate only conform to it outwardly.

But let us pass over the benighted heathens, whose religion was, no doubt, that of the father of lies; and let us come to the religion of light and truth.

Paulus Tarsensis seems to have imagined that the Deity could occasionally deceive the people^{*} for he says:⁸ "God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned⁹ who" &c. (see also *Epist. ad Roman.* ch. 3, v. 7).

caverns where they prepared their sacred books. Another Persian legislator, *Mazdek*; who was also put to death (about A. D. 535), pretended to converse with a pyæum.

⁸ In his 2nd. letter to the Thessalonicians, ch. 2, v. 11, 12. *Paulus* was perhaps thinking—of the complaint of Jeremiah (ch. 20, v. 7): "O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived" (conf. Origen. adv. Cels. p. 3; & Mosheim. de turbatâ &c. p. 802, 803); —and of Yêhouh's denunciation of the idolatrous prophets, in Ezekiel (ch. 14, v. 9): "I the Lord have deceived that prophet." Deceitful miracles are mentioned in the Apocalypse of John, ch. 13, v. 13 & 14; ch. 16, v. 14; ch. 19, v. 20. Indeed, in the primitive times of Christianity, little attention was paid to miracles (vid. Gibbon, vol. 2, p. 377), as all parties claimed an almost equal power of working them. *Lactantius* (B. 5, ch. 3, p. 241, 242) prefers prophecy to miracles. *St. Peter* had said (epist. II, ch. 1, v. 19): "we have a more sure word of prophecy." *Tertullianus* (adv. Marcion. B. 3, ch. 3) shews, that miracles are, in themselves, no argument. Referring to Matth. xxiv, 24, he says: "edicens - - - virtutes magnas edituros - - - temerariam - - - virtutum fidem ostendit, ut etiam apud pseudochristos facillimarum" (conf. Casal. de ritibus Xrum. p. 346, 347; & Mosheim's Cudworth, vol. 2, p. 166-175). Locke has adopted Spinoza's definition of a miracle (vid. Deschamps' Wolffian philosophy, tom. 1, p. 332, 12mo). In our own times, a reverend orator, on being asked what he understood by the word *miracle*, answered "*Mirum*, a wonder, *Miraculum*, a little wonder"; to which his antagonist replied, that a derivation was not a definition. But surely a derivation indicates the primary meaning of a word.

⁹ I regret the use of so strong a word, but I follow the orthodox translation. If the words κρινω, διαθην, λογος, (as also perhaps εκκλησια, πνευμα, αγγελος, αιων, δαιμονιον, πρεσβυτερος, ελικοπος) are occasionally ill translated, let the King

Concerning the Christians of the first centuries, I will give the following passage from Dr. Mosheim:¹⁰ "The Platonists and Pythagoreans held it as a maxim that it was not only lawful, but praiseworthy, to *deceive*, and even to use the expedient of a *lie*, in order to advance the cause of *truth* and *piety*. The Jews who lived in Egypt, had learned and received this maxim from them, before the coming of Christ, as appears incontestably from a multitude of ancient records; and the Christians were infected from both these sources with the same pernicious error, as appears from the number of books attributed falsely to great and venerable names——." Thus Dr. Mosheim; who, however, attributes most of these *pious frauds* to the heretics, not to the genuine Christians; and it is piously to be hoped that he is right.

The above paragraph refers to the 2nd. century after Christ; but, in the 4th. century, it was an almost universally-adopted maxim "That it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when by such means the interests of the church might be promoted."¹ I will only give one more quotation from Mosheim; (it regards the 5th. century): "The simplicity and ignorance of the generality in those times furnished the most favourable occasion for the exercise of fraud; and the impudence of impostors, in contriving false miracles, was artfully proportioned to the credulity of the vulgar; while the sagacious and the wise, who perceived these cheats, were over-awed into silence by the dangers that threatened their lives and fortunes, if they should expose the artifice. Thus does it generally happen in human life, that, when danger attends the discovery and the profession of the truth, the prudent are *silent*, the multitude *believe*, and impostors *triumph*." (E. H., vol. 2, p. 11).

After giving these extracts from so learned a theologian, it is unnecessary for me to mount up to the fountain head, and to turn over the heavy folios of the Fathers of the Church, of which indeed I

and the King's bishops look to it. It is their affair, not mine. My orthodoxy is not stopped by trifles. "Vive le Roi [*et sa foi*] quand même—."

¹⁰ Eccles. Hist. vol. 1, p. 197, 198. Engl. Transl. In his "de rebus Xnis. ante Constantinum" (p. 166, a) Mosheim says, that pious frauds were approved of by the christians as early as the time of Hermas.

¹ Eccles. Hist. vol. 1, p. 381, 382; conf. Brucker, Hist. Philos., vol. 3, p. 354; conf. p. 362.

possess but very few. However, I will give the following passages.

The Apostolic *Hermas* says: "I never spoke a true word in my life; but always lived in dissimulation, and affirmed a lie for truth to all men; and no man contradicted me, but all gave credit to my words."² (Pastor, B. 2, mandat. 3, (v. 6, edit. Hone), p. 45, edit. Cotel. The Pastor is "scripture", vid. Iren. B. 4, ch. 20, p. 253).

The author of *the Clementina* has impiously dared to introduce even St. Peter himself, telling the father of Clemens, to put on the appearance of Simon Magus, and, as such, to confess that he had wickedly lied against Peter [vid. Cotelier, p. 808—810; conf. p. 521—524]. Dr. Mosheim is very severe upon the delusion (de tur-batâ, p. 796, 797). Elsewhere (Homil. Clement. p. 575, Cotel.), St. Peter is made to speak very strangely about the lies of Scripture.

St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* seems to me decidedly favourable to pious frauds. (vid. strom. B. 5, p. 656; conf. p. 680—686). Moreover, in B. 6, p. 302, after referring to St. Paul, &c., *Clemens* says: "They are not liars, who accommodate themselves according to œconomy of salvation, nor who err in any things which are in part; but those [are liars] who stumble at principal things, and who reject the Lord, - - and the Lord's true doctrine."

St. *Cyprianus* tells us (vid. Dict. des Athées, p. 93) that it is dangerous to speak the truth concerning God.³

St. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* was of opinion, that words are sufficient to deceive the vulgar, who admire the more the less they understand.⁴

² The Christians and Pagans mutually accused one another of credulity, as is shewn at great length by Kortholt, in his *paganus obtrectator*, P. 1, ch. X.

³ *Origenes* quotes the same saying from some one (vid. Epiphan. Hæres. 64, p. 531.) These Christians seem to follow *Plato*, who, in his *Timæus*, considers it difficult and dangerous to explain to the multitude the father of all things. (see Potter's note to *Clemens Alex.*, cohortat., p. 58). Moreover, in his second *Epistle* to *Dionysius*, *Plato* says: "I must speak to you ænigmatically [concerning God], so that, if any thing happens to those tablets, he that reads them may not understand"—a passage which *Clemens* (strom. B. 5, p. 685) compares to those of the apostle *Paulus*, I. *Corinth.* ch. 2, v. 6 & 7; & ch. 3, v. 1, 2, 3.

⁴ This saying reminds me of that of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* (ap.

According to the same Doctor of the Church, "Our fathers and teachers have often said, not what they thought, but what circumstances required." (vid. Dict. des Athées, p. 172.)

St. *Hieronymus*, tho he condemns Origen's doctrine of deceitfulness (vid. Mosheim, de turbatâ, p. 802), nevertheless declares⁵, that the Fathers were obliged to say, not what they thought, but every thing requisite to refute what the heathens believed. He endeavours to vindicate them by the example of St. Paul; but Blondel has shewn the insufficiency of such a justification.

St. *Chrysostomus*⁶ declares, "that miracles are proper only to excite sluggish and vulgar minds; that men of sense have no occasion for them; and that they frequently carry some untoward suspicion along with them."⁷ Elsewhere (in his "de Sacerdotio." vid. Mosheim, de turbatâ, p. 803), *Chrysostomus* maintains that a certain degree of deceitfulness "is honourable, not only in war and towards enemies,

Euseb., Hist. Eccl., B. 7, ch. 20): "I do not reject what I have not observed; but admire it the more, because I have not seen it." Compare the famous passage of *Tertullianus* (de carne Christi, ch. 5): "Alias non invenio - - - - -"

⁵ Apolog. ad Pammachium pro libris adv. Jovinian. vid. Mandeville's Free Thoughts, p. 172.

⁶ vid. Middleton's Prefatory Discourse to his Letter from Rome, p. civ, edit. 1741.

⁷ This language seems liberal for a Christian Saint. But one is less astonished at finding similar common sense among the worshippers of Jupiter. Thus: *Polybius* considered all miracles as fables, invented to preserve in the vulgar a due sense of respect for the deity (vid. Reinmann. hist. ath. p. 233; Casal. de ritibus Christianorum, p. 347; the Travels of J. Massey, p. 264, edit. 1733; & the Esprit de l'Encycl. tom. 2, p. 335-337). Even *Xenophon*, tho much addicted to superstition, says of certain prodigies, that they were considered to have been forged and contrived by the magistrates (vid. Middleton's Letter from Rome, p. 205). Well therefore was it said by *Epicharmus* (ap. Polybius; vid. Fabric. Biblioth. Gr. vol. 1, p. 678) that "to be vigilant, and to be hard of faith, are the sinews of wisdom." *Marcus Antoninus* (meditatt. B. 1, p. 1) congratulates himself that he had learnt "to disbelieve what is said by wonder-workers and jugglers, concerning incantations and the sending-back demons and the such like".

but also in peace and towards friends." He then talks about the conduct of St. Paul [vid. I Cor. IX, 19, &c.; Acts XVI, 3; Galat. VI, 12, &c.]. Afterwards he says: "Great is the force of deceit, provided it be not excited by a treacherous intention. And such as this indeed ought not to be called deceit, but a certain œconomy and wisdom."-- "He is justly called a deceiver, who uses the method unjustly, not he who does this with a sane mind. It is often useful to deceive, and thus to give great assistance."

Eusebius (who, thô a sort of an Arian, was the most useful man Christianity ever possessed,) seems to have been rather actuated by the principle of deceit, when he composed his Ecclesiastical History. If we subtract falsifications, interpolations, and evident improbabilities, his account of the Christians, during the first century of their æra, amounts to little more than what we read in (that undateable but highly-to-be-reverenced compilation, ycleped) the New Testament. Gibbon says of our grand historian: "Eusebius indirectly confesses that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of religion." (Decl. and Fall, ch. 16; vol. 2, p. 490)

After speaking of the christian who first endeavoured to give a methodical, and something like common-sense, account of the origin of his religion, I may add the avowal of *Sozomenes*,⁸ another of our christian historiographers, that he did not dare to relate the creed of Nice, because "some of his pious and learned friends in this matter," advised him to suppress the things, "which the initiates and mystagogues alone should understand"; and that, according to their advice, he has concealed what was to be kept silent.

I will only refer to one more of the ancient churchmen, namely to *Synesius*. This demi-philosopher, on being offered the bishoprick of Ptolemaïs, wished his Patriarch to be informed, that, althô he could not believe the common doctrine of the resurrection, yet he had no objection to amuse the vulgar with fables.⁹ "As darkness suits the

⁸ B. 1, ch. 19 & 20. conf. Mandeville's Free Thoughts, p. 74.

⁹ See the Latin translation of his Letter, in Brucker, Hist. Phil. vol. 3, p. 514; and partly in Mosheim ad Cudworth., vol. 1, p. 812, 813; & vol. 2, p. 804; conf. Gibbon, Decl. and Fall, vol. 3. p. 299, note; and Helvétius, de l'Homme, section 2, note 5. Another important passage from *Synesius* is quoted in the "de Diis Syris" (p. 54 & 69) of Selden, who appears to admire this doctrine.

blear-eyed better than light, so I think that falsehood suits the vulgar better than truth." The liberal theologian Beausobre, after quoting various parts of this famous epistle, says: "On voit dans l'histoire que j'ai rapportée, une sorte d'hypocrisie, qui n'a peut-être été que trop commune dans tous les tems. C'est que des ecclésiastiques, non-seulement ne disent pas ce qu'ils pensent, mais disent tout le contraire de ce qu'ils pensent. 'Philosophes dans leur cabinet, hors delà ils content des fables,' quoiqu'ils sachent bien que ce sont des fables. Ils font plus; ils livrent au bourreau des gens de bien, pour l'avoir dit. Combien d'athées et de prophanes ont fait brûler de saints personnages sous prétexte d'hérésie! Tous les jours des hypocrites consacrent et font adorer l'hostie, bien qu'ils soient aussi convaincus que moi, que ce n'est qu'un morceau de pain." (Manichéisme, tom. 2, p. 568, 569).

A famous medical metaphysician ¹⁰ has ventured to say, of the early Christian priests: "Nothing was more obnoxious to all their enterprizes, than the Pagan philosophers as well as historians, and the good sense contained in their works. Knowledge is the bane of Priestcraft; which made some prelates, as soon as it was in their power, behave themselves against all human literature, and every thing belonging to arts and sciences, with an uncommon rage. --- The inveteracy --- of Gregory --- the Great --- against learning and paganism was so excessive, that he not only was angry with an Archbishop of Vienna, for suffering grammar to be taught in his diocese, but studied to write bad Latin himself; and in one of his letters boasted, that he scorned to conform to the rule of grammar, not in any thing to resemble a heathen. In pursuance of this refined policy, the Clergy has refused to recede an inch from what had been gained on the credulity of the laymen; and whoever attempted to undeceive the people was always looked upon as a false brother, and rendered odious to the world." Thus Mandeville; who protests that he does not allude to latter times. And I am sure he would not, if alive, allude to this nineteenth century: for we see that our clergy has established everywhere schools of mutual instruction,—as soon as it was found, that, otherwise, the education, or rather the bible-teaching ¹, of the poor would fall into the hands of the dissenters.

¹⁰ Dr. Mandeville, in his *Free Thoughts*, p. 151, 152. Compare Hume's *Essays*, vol. 1, p. 54, & p. 504. Read also a passage in p. 14 & 15 (edit. 1816) of that interesting, tho' pseudonymous, pamphlet, called "*Janus on Sion*."

¹ I know not why we anti-papists thrust upon all the world the

When such as I have above stated were the doctrines of some of the Fathers of the church ², it is not surprising if their lineal descendants the Roman ³ Catholics have perpetually acted upon the principle of deceit. Hence the 11,000 virgin martyrs of Cologne; hence the two or three heads of St. Ursula; hence the girdle of the virgin Mary shewn in eleven different places; hence the eight authenticated sindoni, or cerements, of our blessed saviour; hence enough wood of the true cross to build a first rate man of war. To this doctrine of deceit we owe—the most stupendous forgeries, such as letters from the Virgin Mary &c.,—and the perpetual succession of miracles, such as the still annually liquified blood of St. Januarius. No wonder if the priests ridicule, when by themselves, that ignorance by which they live; and

sacred books of our holy and mysterious religion. Semler would tell us that these books were really kept *sacred* in the early ages: “Christiani doctores non in vulgus prodebant libros sacros suos, licet soleant plerique aliter opinari. Erant tantum in manibus clericorum, priora per sæcula” (dissertat. in Tertullianum I, §. 10, note 57). For the Fathers of the church, and modern theologians, who have condemned the indiscriminate reading of the Scriptures, vid. “Pour et contre la Bible”, p. 381-384; conf. p. 254.

² But probably the *Gnostics* were fully as deceitful. ex. gr. vid. supra, Life of Plutarchus, p. 15, note 4. Dr. Mosheim (de turbatâ, p. 804) says: “The most celebrated and learned Christians, from the age of *Origenes* whom I consider as the principal teacher of this doctrine, appear to me to have been infected [with deceit], until the *Priscillianists*, in the fifth century, carried this doctrine — a great deal too far, and many of the orthodox were not afraid to imitate them. It was then that all lies were condemned and rejected by St. Augustinus, whose doctrine was afterwards preferred, by many teachers, to the Platonicians’ liberty of lying.” Among modern heretics, the Anabaptists have had their *Clancularii*, “qui disaient qu’il fallait parler en public comme le commun des hommes sur les matières de religion, et ne dire qu’en secret ce que l’on pensait.” vid. Dict. Hist. Univ., tom. 20 (chronol.) p. 233.

³ But Montesquieu (gr. et dec. des Romains, p. 258, 259) says of their rivals at Byzantium: “Quand je pense à l’ignorance profonde dans laquelle le clergé grec plongeait les laïques, je ne puis m’empêcher de les comparer à ces Scythes dont parle Hérodote (Liv. IV, ch. 2), qui crevoient les yeux à leurs esclaves, afin que rien ne pût les empêcher de battre leur lait.”

if Pope Leo X.* should be reported to have said "What riches this fable of Christ has brought us!"

But from the 2nd. (or at any rate the 3rd.) century of our æra, down to the 16th., we know that Christianity was not Christianity; and that the church, against which the powers of darkness were not to prevail, was in a perfect state of eclipse. When, however, the invention of printing⁴ had begun to popularize knowledge; and when Luther, aided by the Saxon princes, had overthrown the papal power in the north of Germany, and those time-servers, Cromwell and Cranmer, had revolutionized the religion of England; then (evidently by the grace of God alone) Christianity shone forth in its virgin splendour. Yet, even since this auspicious renovation, how many Anglican priests have (as is said to have been the case with Archbishop *Sheldon*) regarded religion as a state-mystery! For I regret to say, our prelates are sometimes more endued with reason than with faith. Thus: Archbishop *Tillotson* was suspected of latitudinarianism; Bishop *Hoadly* has been called the greatest dissenter that ever was preferred in the Church; and Bishop *Hare** has been accused of having even offered to bet against the prophecies.

Almost in our own times, Bishop *Watson*, notwithstanding his two Apologies, has, I am told, acknowledged, in his Memoirs, that his own faith, as regards the soul, was not perfectly sound. Dr. *Paley*, who, tho' not a prelate, has been a most influential theologian, confessed he could not afford to keep a conscience; the which confession, added to his somewhat Jesuitical doctrine of expediency, may tend to shew, that the shrewd Archdeacon has sometimes argued "according to œconomy"¹ i. e. in a manner adapted, not to truth, but to circum-

⁴ Many discussions were excited among our clergy by the introduction of printing into England. For, altho it was Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been principally instrumental to the introduction of that art, (which moreover was first practised in Westminster Abbey, under the patronage of Thomas Milling, Bishop of Hereford,) yet, at that period, a certain Bishop of London said, in an assembly of his episcopal brethren: "If we do not succeed in destroying this dangerous invention, it will destroy us." vid. *Biographie Univ.* tom. 7, p. 462. This was I suppose, when Caxton's first book was published here, in 1474. Gilbert, Kemp, and Hill, were Bishops of London about that time. I know not which of them made this most lamentably true prognostic.

¹ vid. Daillé "on the use of the Fathers," ch. 6, p. 107 - 115.

-stances. Finally, there now exists a learned Bishop, who could publicly declare, that, altho he believed in the Articles collectively, he did not believe in them separately. Such an assertion should not surprise us, if it is allowable to suppose, that the divines of the present Church of England subscribe, with a sigh or a smile, to articles which they can hardly wish to be thought believers in. They make probably some mental reservation; or perhaps do not conceal, that (like Chillingworth) they regard these articles only as peace-articles, —a comfortable manner of reasoning, which would equally entitle the subscribers to lecture in a Turkish mosque as in an Anglican steeple-house. And who are our embryo *pulpiteers*? Are they chiefly such younger sons, as are neither possessed of bookish industry and oratory for the bar, nor of physical strength and courage for the army? Such instructors must consider religion only as a trade; and, in the hopes of promotion in the church militant, must be willing to lend a hand toward supporting any profitable system of delusion.²

If living upon the people, instead of enlightening them, be *not* the object of the *clergy*, it certainly *is* the object of the *Lawyers*. A certain Lord Chief Justice is said to have declaimed, only a few days ago, against the *bad* effects of education.

Among the more independent part of our *laity*, there have always existed persons, who, like Sir William *Temple**, think that religion is only good for the mob. Indeed, our English aristocrats*, especially those of the last and the present generation, are notoriously hypocritical in both religion and politics† They assist at public prayers, only, as they say, to set a good example to their servants. Even a long residence abroad, which ought to enlarge the mind, serves only to render some persons yet greater favourers of hypocrisy. I have heard of a gentleman, who admires the maxim of deceiving the people, because he found that the Hindoos might be forced to speak the truth by swearing them upon consecrated rice.

If the doctrine of deceitfulness is almost universally maintained by the aristocracy of the *British Isles* (which have long been the most religious part of Europe), it is no wonder if the aristocrats of *foreign* climes are equally barefaced, in desiring freedom for themselves and slavery for the producers of their wealth.

² Dr. Isaac Vossius, when asked what had become of a certain man of letters, answered bluntly: "He has turned country parson, and is deceiving the vulgar." See Desmaiseaux's *Life of St. Evremond*; and Nicéron's *Mémoires* tom. 13, p. 131.

The use of certain dogmata in stultifying the people was never more strikingly exemplified, than in the famous *Catechism* ³ promulgated, only a few years ago, by Austriaco-Italian despotism. (sed vid. *infra*, App. II, p. 14).

Italy has long been famous for pious frauds; but it has occasionally produced detectors of these frauds. *Pomponatius* maintained, that the dogma of a future life and of the soul's immortality was invented by politicians (vid. *Espr. de l'Encycl.* tom. 2, p. 543). *Machiavelli* said, that miracles were invented by princes for the benefit of their subjects ⁴, and that the prince ought to be the first of deceivers in observing religious ceremonies. ⁵

In more northern countries, the grammarian *Antonius Schorus* ⁶ was banished from Heidelberg, because, in his latin comedy "*Eusebia*," he wished to prove, that religion was despised by the great people and was respected only by the vulgar. We read also of the unfortunate law-student *J. G. Ram*, who, before voluntarily quitting the woes of this life ⁷, wrote a species of testament, in which he says: -- "*religio ad vulgus pertinet, inventa scilicet ad*

³ One of our English Newspapers (the Morning Chronicle), after giving copious extracts from this most orthodox church-and-state publication, said: "How early is the great business of deception commenced! The mouths of our very babes and sucklings are systematically filled with falsehoods, and even in their spelling-books they are nursed in delusion. It would seem that it is never too early to learn lies. A system of education *ab ovo*, which should exclude only notorious falsehood, would be a perfect curiosity—a thing that has never yet been seen."

⁴ vid. Vanin. *amphitheatr.* p. 35 & 50; conf. *Syst. de la Nature*, tom. 4, p. 15, note.

⁵ see the *Charlatanerie des Savans*, p. 197, note. In the same note it is remarked, that, according to *Plato* and *Xenophon*, governors should be permitted to lie for the public good; and that, according to *Valerius Maximus* (B. 7, ch. 3), certain things to be well received by the public, must be introduced by fraud.

⁶ A Dutch protestant who died at Lausanne in 1552. vid. *Dict. Historique Universel*, tom. 16, p. 50.

⁷ In the year 1688, and apparently at Wittemberg. vid. *Reimann. Hist. Atheismi*, p. 505.

decipiendos homines, eosque melius regendum. -- Ut -- ea, quæ vulgo de religione traduntur, à sacerdotibus doceantur, ratio, uti dicitur, postulat -- .”

Before concluding the historical part of this appendix, let me add what some of the modern French literati (whose influence has been so powerful over the whole of Europe) have said, or written, concerning the grand question of deceiving the vulgar.

*Buffon*⁸ is reported to have said, that he considered Religion to be necessary for the people; and that, for this reason, he used the word “creator” instead of “nature,” and [thereby] also avoided giving offence to the Sorbonne.

Voltaire, the greatest Theist of modern times, says:⁹

Consulte Zoroastre, et Minos et Solon,
Et le martyr Socrate, et le grand Cicéron:
Ils ont adoré tous un maître, un juge, un père.
Ce système sublime à l'homme est nécessaire.
C'est le sacré lien de la société,
Le premier fondement de la sainte équité,
Le frein du scélérat, l'espérance du juste.
Si les cieux, dépouillés de son empreinte auguste,
Pouvaient cesser jamais de le manifester,
SI DIEU N'EXISTAIT PAS, IL FAUDRAIT L'INVENTER.¹⁰

Moreover, *Voltaire*, in his “*Traité sur la Tolerance*,” printed in 1763, has devoted a chapter to this very subject “S’il est utile d’entretenir le peuple dans la Superstition”; in the beginning of which chapter he says: “Telle est la faiblesse du genre humain, et telle sa perversité, qu’il vaut mieux sans doute pour lui d’être

⁸ vid. *Dict. des Athées*, p. 56.

⁹ *Epître à l’auteur du livre des Trois Imposteurs*. In the *Œuvres de Voltaire*, tom. 12, p. 186, edit. 1821.

¹⁰ This last verse, which is often printed in capitals, was a great favourite of *Voltaire*’s. In a letter to *Saurin*, he says (*Œuvr.* tom. 12, p. 514): “Je suis rarement content de mes vers; mais j’avoue que j’ai une tendresse de père pour celui-là.” *La Harpe*, in his *Eloge de Voltaire*, says “ce beau vers fut une des pensées de sa vieillesse.” And, indeed, old age naturally has recourse to the doctrine of deceit, as conducive to (the summum bonum of decrepitude) temporary quiet.

subjugué par toutes les superstitions possibles, pourvu qu'elles ne soient point meurtrières, que de vivre sans religion. L'homme a toujours eu besoin d'un frein;—". Methinks, if Voltaire had always written thus, the priests would have canonized him*.

The author of the *Essai sur les Préjugés* is decidedly opposed to the doctrine of deceit; but he acknowledges (ch. 2, p. 17, 18. edit. 1777): "La Politique se croit obligée de tromper les peuples, de les retenir dans leur tristes préjugés, d'aneantir dans tous les cœurs le désir de s'instruire et l'amour de la vérité. - - - Les chefs des peuples - - s'obstinent à regarder l'ignorance et l'abrutissement comme utiles—".

Linguet,¹ an anti-philosophical publicist, says, in his *Essai philosophique sur le Monachisme*, that Religion is a sublime invention.

Lemaire,² the editor of the "*Contagion Sacrée*" (Paris, An. V.) says: "the people must have a religion."

La Place (the greatest mathematician that ever existed) was of opinion³ that Atheism is adapted only for the *savans*.⁴

I have now brought forward quite a sufficiency of instances to prove the universal prevalence of the doctrine of deceit. But the universality of a doctrine is no proof of its truth; otherwise we might believe in witchcraft, ghosts, &c. Let us rather argumen-

¹ vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 249.

² vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 242, & 312.

³ according to the Dict. des Ath. p. 232.

⁴ Yet, if I recollect right, *La Place* says, at the end of his "*Système du Monde*," that the great use of Astronomy is its incompatibility with Superstition. In the same work the author gives us a most admirable cosmogony founded on the idea of successive solar refrigerations. I mention these circumstances with the greater pleasure, because many astronomers have done their utmost to favour superstition. I forget which of our star-gazers has insinuated that the entrance of Paradise may be in a spot of the belt of Orion. The great *Lalande* was not one of these ultra-scars. "I am more proud of my progress in atheism, than of what I may have learnt in astronomy"; and again: "At nineteen I thought the heavens proved god; now I see in them nothing but matter and motion." Yet even *Lalande* thought that Atheism was "beyond the vulgar, to whom it would be neither agreeable nor useful." vid. Biogr. Univ. tom. 27, p. 9, note 1.

-tatively enquire, whether deceiving the vulgar is really a good policy.

Now the term *vulgar*, in the phrase before us, evidently means *the ignorant*; and all ignorance is comparative, and is, moreover, of infinitely diversified species. But let it be granted, that *the ignorant* are, in this⁵ country, *such persons as cannot read or write*. These persons are of two sorts: 1st. those who have not yet been taught, viz: children; and 2ndly. those who probably never will be taught, viz: old uneducated people. It is impossible to reason with either of these two classes of persons, as with those who have profited by the recorded wisdom of past ages, and still less as with those, who have attained—that grand object of a refined education—the power of judging in the abstract.

It is then evident, that “the vulgar,” as above defined, are beings of inferior rationality. But, because they are inferior beings, they are not, I think, to be therefore habitually deceived.

For, how many instances could be produced, of persons, who have seemed to consider themselves privileged to deceive the vulgar, and who have ultimately had good reason to repent of their deceitfulness. I do not allude to any silly youth, who, when playing the ghost, may have been *very properly* run thro’ the body by another youth who would not be frightened. But I allude to those hoary-headed, systematical, and licensed hypocrites, who, after long encouraging an error, have at last fallen victims, either to the same, or to a cognate or similar error. The most learned Egyptian might perhaps have been torn to pieces by the mob, if he had, tho’ unwillingly, destroyed a cat. The Brahmin of highest caste may, I have heard, sink, at once, into a Pariah, if forced to eat beef. The most faithful believer, in the divine mission of Mohammed, would perhaps be impaled, if he openly derided the horse El-Borak and the bridge El-Seirat. Even under more regular governments, one of our most orthodoxly intolerant high-churchmen might find himself inconveniently situated, if, when abroad, he refused to take off his hat to a

⁵ I say “in this country”: for it is evident that some nations, tho’ incapable of reading or writing, may nevertheless contain enlightened individuals. The North American Indian, perfect in body and mind, and free from almost every species of tyranny and prejudice, is surely a superior being to the miserable theologian, who has wasted his health and intellect in the endeavour to comprehend learned nullities and dogmatical absurdities.

popish procésion. Again, in part of this our blessed country, the strictest believer in our old 39 Articles might, I am told, be prevented from gaining his livelihood in the church, if he refused to sign the 80 new Articles of one of our present bishops.

In short : in a barbarous country it is almost impossible to be secure against the savageness of superstition; and, in a demi-civilized country, like our own and the greater part of Europe, faith (unless perhaps such as the vicar of Bray's) does not always produce security or comfort. *Cranmer*, a founder of our half-reformed christianity, burnt heretics under Edward the sixth's reign, and was himself burnt as a heretic under the reign of Edward's successor.⁶ On the other hand, those four Dominicans were similarly burnt alive, who wished to keep up a long established doctrine of christianity, even by imposing upon, and frequently endeavouring to poison, one of their own brethren.⁷

Superstition therefore (the grand effect of the doctrine of deceit) is often of no avail, and is sometimes of great detriment, even to the deceivers.

And to the deceived themselves, it is far more frequently destructive. For instances of *physical* destruction, read of the crusades and of the St. Barthélemi. For instances of *moral* destruction, behold one quarter probably of the inhabitants of mad-houses.

It may indeed be objected, that some persons are enamoured of their error, and that we have no right to deprive them of it.* Thus Gibbon⁸ says: "The practise of Superstition is so congenial with the multitude, that, if they are forcibly awakened, they still regret the loss of their pleasing vision." *Ælianus*⁹ mentions a certain Thra-syllus, who rejoiced at seeing any vessels enter the Piræus, believing them to be his own; and Horatius¹⁰ speaks of a man (by

⁶ I might perhaps also mention, that *Leibnitz*, who wrote against all sorts of anti-Lutheran heresies, would once have been thrown into the sea [à la Jonas] by some popish sailors, if he had not pretended to be a catholic.

⁷ vid. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. tom. 4, p. 18, to 22. The punishment inflicted on these clumsy impostors was an *ad terrorem* event, which must have given some room for reflection to getters up of miracles.

⁸ Decline and Fall, vol. 2, p. 356.

⁹ Var. Hist. B. 4, ch. 24.

¹⁰ Epistles, B. II, 2, v. 128-140.

some called Lycas) who, in an empty theatre, imagined that he heard admirable tragedies. Now these examples would form a good argument, if Superstition were only a private and solitary vice. Lycas was a good neighbour and an agreeable host, as the poet tells us; therefore his peculiar fancy about the theatre might have been left to him, as affecting no one except himself. But it is otherwise with Superstition.¹ Firm believers must have often thought it an act of charity, rather to broil an incredulous neighbour for half an hour in this world, than to let him broil for ever in the next. It is evident therefore, that, for every individual of common sense, to attack dam-natory doctrines and the other dogmata of licensed deceivers, is but a rightly-understood system of self-defence.

As to attempting to cure a people's vicious education by im-postures, this is only perpetuating an evil, and perhaps giving it a yet worse direction. *Mohammed* may have cured the Arabs of idololatry;² but he inspired them with a spirit of proselytism, which spread ruin over half the world; and, by giving them a written code of faith, he bound down their intellects for ever.³

Deceit can only be justifiable, for a very short time, and towards an infuriated mob. When the vulgar are once in a state of tranquillity, they will more safely be kept quiet by the staff of

¹ Superstitions purely national may perhaps to a certain degree be excepted. Brahminism is a genealogical religion, and is (I am told) incapable of the odious folly of proselytism. Besides, a Hindoo, in choosing his own personal deity, may profess a sort of pan-theism. Public self-torturers should be prosecuted as nuisances; but, if a fool wishes to throw himself under the wheels of the car of Jagnaut, I do not see why he should be prevented.

² This, however, is the most harmless, and poetical, species of superstition; and is also the most ancient, after star-and-element-worship. It is but a materialization of the anthropomorphism of the vulgar. The religions the most fatal to toleration (see the 9th. section of Hume's *Natural History of Religion*) are those which have inculcated the worship of ideas-without-prototypes. Adorers of a wooden image may throw their deity into the fire, and be liberated from their folly in a moment; but what can cure the madmen, who adore a being so indefinable, that, to judge from his attributes, he must be infinitely stronger than iron, yet infinitely thinner than air?

³ Even Truths, if they deprived the mind of its elasticity, would degrade human intellect into brutish instinct.

a police-officer than by the crozier of a bishop. Forceible restraint is the only argument fit to be used with beings, who were never endued with instinct, and who have left uncultivated, or have abandoned, their reason. A desperately-ignorant and actively-vicious man ought to be treated as a tiger: for, in depriving a furious animal of the means of doing injury, it signifies little whether he walk upon two legs or upon four. Hence, if any one were entrusted with the government of the Neapolitan Lazzaroni, or of some hot-headed, wild, half-naked, Irishmen, or any other set of human beings whom superstition and bad government has deprived of reason, he would be fully justified in *forcibly* preventing them from annoying one another or their neighbours.

But *force* ceases to be justifiable, after sufficient time has been allowed for usefully educating those who are now infants. The grown-up generation may be despaired of. Human beings have hitherto been, for the most part, mere masses of variously compounded folly and villany. But let us not despair of the future generations. The descendant of the most ignorant bigot, or of the most cruel despot, is, physically speaking, almost, if not entirely, as capable of receiving useful knowledge as the child of the most profound philosopher.

The vulgar should therefore, be *educated, not deceived*; and the selfish, or short-sighted, rulers, who give themselves no pains to improve the intellects of the rising generation, ought to be condemned to banishment and contempt, the punishments best inflicted upon tyrants.

APPENDIX THE SECOND.

OF PERSONS FALSELY ENTITLED ATHEISTS.

WYTTEBACH¹ has very properly shewn, that the words *Atheism* and *Atheist* are altogether unmeaning, until it is decided what is meant by the word "God."

Albeit, the herd of mankind do not argue in this candid manner; and, as the existence of some sort of a deity has usually been considered undeniable, so the imputation of *Atheism* and the title of *Atheist* have usually been considered as insulting. No doubt, indeed, there has, during the last forty years, been here and there a philosopher, who, like Mongez,² has said, that he has "*the honour* to be an *Atheist*." But I do not treat upon those comparatively rare individuals; my object is with those who have *falsely* received this generally-unenvied title.

And to plunge at once *in medias res*, let me recommend my readers (if I have any) to turn to the 10th. chapter of that most useful work, Kortholt's "*Paganus Obtrektor*."³ A fact, here ful-

¹ In his first note, which I have placed *before* the treatise of Plutarchus.

² An antiquary, and member of the French national Institute. vid. Dict. des Athées, p. 292.

³ But it is much to be regretted, that about one half of this chapter is occupied with a very misplaced digression, concerning conventicles, churches, &c., which is only so far useful as it may remind us, that the modern christians have inverted (and ten thousand times deteriorated) the practise of certain Polytheists who turned tombs into temples. We seem, during the last ten centuries, to have thought our prayers most efficacious when we are breathing the putrid effluvia of charnel-houses. It must have been prophetically (as well as literally) that, by Libanius and Julianus, we are called οἱ περὶ τοὺς ταφούς; "*thô* (as indeed the Emperor himself says) it is no where commanded [us] to wallow in sepulchres and worship there." (vid. Lardner's Works, vol. 4, p. 340. 4to.)-A

ly stated, may put to the blush such modern Yêsûsites, as absurdly bestow, on refractory metaphysicians, a title, which was very frequently bestowed on their own sanctified predecessors. Justinus martyr, Athenagoras, Clemens Alex., Tertullianus, Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Eusebius, Gregorius Nyssenus, Sozomenes, Cyrillus Alex., and Prudentius, all these ancient christians allow, that their co-religionists were considered as $\alpha\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ or $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\beta\omicron\iota$. The quotations, or at any rate the references, may be found in Kortholt. Let it suffice for me to repeat what *Arnobius* has said to the gentiles: "We are called by you ill-omened men and atheists."—"you call us impious, and irreligious, and atheists."—"you are in the habit of exciting the hatred of the mob against us, by calling us atheists." Thus *Arnobius*.⁴

And if we turn to such *Pagan* writers as have condescended to notice us, we shall find ourselves similarly denominated.

The Emperor⁵ *Antoninus*, in his (real or supposed) letter to the people of Asia, says of the Christians:

$\tau\eta\eta\ \gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\mu\eta\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\eta\ \ ,\ \eta\eta\pi\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\eta\ \ ,\ \omega\varsigma\ \alpha\theta\epsilon\omega\eta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon.$

There also exists⁶ a letter of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* to the Roman Senate, in which the Christians are called, those:

$\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\upsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\ \alpha\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\iota.$ ⁷

The prophet *Alexander* (as recorded by *Lucianus*) terrified his adversaries by saying:

$\alpha\theta\epsilon\omega\eta\ \epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\varsigma\omega\alpha\iota\ \ ,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omega\eta\ \ ,\ \tau\omicron\eta\eta\ \lambda\omicron\eta\tau\omicron\eta\ \ ,\ \omicron\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\lambda\alpha\mu\omega\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha\ \beta\lambda\alpha\varsigma\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\eta.$

⁴ This author (who constantly preaches Atheism or Deism, while he fancies that he is preaching Christianity) asks also: "Is the worship - - - of a supreme Deity, an execrable and ill-omened religion, full of impiety and sacrilege, contaminating old-established ceremonies by the superstition of its novelty?" B. 1, ch. 25.

⁵ It is not decided whether the letter is from *Titus*, or *Marcus*. Dodwell thinks it could not be written by a heathen. Thirlby and Jortin reject it as a forgery. (vid. Lardner's Works, vol. 4, p. 70.)

⁶ In the same place as the former one; viz. in Eusebius, and at the end of the Apologies of Justinus martyr.

⁷ But it is now granted that this letter is a forgery, and was not composed before the sixth century of our æra. (vid. Lardner, vol 4, p. 100.)

and, on the first day of his holy feast, he ordered a herald to proclaim:

“ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΑΘΕΟΣ, Η ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ, Η ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΕΙΟΣ, ΗΚΕΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΡΓΙΩΝ, ΦΕΥΓΕΤΩ.”

The Emperor *Julianus*, writing to the High Priest Arsacius, blames the Christians as ΑΘΕΟΤΗΤΑ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΙΜΩΝΤΩΝ.⁸ He also says (ap. Cyril.; vid. Lardner. vol. 4, p. 332.) that the Christians had borrowed their atheism out of the absurd [religion] of the Jews. There are likewise numerous passages in which he calls us “the impious Galilæans.” But it must be owned that we Christians have amply returned the compliment. The blind Maris, Arian bishop of Chalcedon, insulted *Julianus* even to his face,—ΤΟΝ ΔΑΕΒΗ ΚΑΛΩΝ, ΤΟΝ ΑΠΟСТАΤΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΟΝ,—an act of martyrdom-seeking insolence, which the Emperor had the good sense to pardon. (vid. Lardner, vol. 4, p. 320, 321, out of Socrates B. 3, ch. 12, p. 183, D.)

The reason, why the Christians were considered as impious, is explained in Eusebius’s *Præparatio Evangelica*,⁹ where a Pagan is introduced speaking as follows:

ΠΩΣ ΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΘΕΝ ΔΥΣΣΕΒΕΙΣ ΑΝ ΕΙΕΝ, ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΟΙ, ΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΩΝ ΕΘΩΝ ΑΠΟСТАΝΤΕΣ, ΔΙΩΝ ΠΑΝ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΣΥΝΕΣΤΗΚΕΝ? Η ΤΙ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΕΛΠΙΣΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΕΧΘΕΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑСТАΝΤΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΣ ΠΑΡΩΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ? ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΛΛΟ Η ΘΕΟΜΑΧΟΥΝΤΑΣ? ΠΟΙΑΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΖΙΩΘΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ ΣΥΓΓΕΝΩΜΗΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΞ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙΣ, ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΡΟΥΣ, ΠΑΝΤΟΙΟΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΙΣ, ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ, ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ-ΣΤΡΑΦΕΝΤΑΣ, ΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΤΑ ΔΑΕΒΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΝΘΡΩ-ΠΟΙΣ?

“Ought not those men to be considered altogether irreligious and atheistical, who desert the customs of their forefathers, by which every nation, and every city, hath been preserved? What good [actions] can be reasonably expected, from those, who openly oppose our Saviours, and who reject our Benefactors, and thus make

⁸ vid. Sozomen. H. Eccl. B. 5, ch. 16 [15]; ap. Kortholt, p. 409.

⁹ B. 1, ch. 2, [p. 5,] ap. Kortholt, p. 410.

themselves enemies of our Gods? And can they deserve pardon who adopt whatever is impious and atheistical among men, having turned away from the worship of beings, honoured every-where, from time immemorial, both by Græcians and foreigners, with all sorts of sacrifices rites and mysteries, by all kings legislators and philosophers?"¹⁰

Such was the language used, by the followers of the established religion of Jupiter, against the daring preachers of the personified ΛΟΓΟΣ; and it must be owned, that, as an exclusive Monotheism had never been publicly preached in the south of Europe, the arguments of the Polytheists were not altogether destitute of plausibility.

Eusebius elsewhere says:¹

ΕΥ ΜΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΠΕΙΚΑΣΙΝ , ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ , ΤΑ ΘΕΙΑ ΤΙΜΩΝΤΑΣ , ΤΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ ; ΗΜΑΣ ΔΕ ΤΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑ ΔΕΒΕΙΝ , ΤΑΣ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΜΦΑΝΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙΚΑΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΟΥΔΕΝΙ ΛΟΓΩΙ ΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΥΣ , ΑΝΤΙΚΡΥΣ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΑΣ ; ΔΕΟΝ ΣΕΒΕΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ , ΜΗΔΕ ΚΙΝΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΑΚΙΝΗΤΑ² , ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΛΑΤΟΡΩΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΙ , ΑΛΛΑ ΜΗ ΠΟΛΥΠΡΑΓΜΟΝΕΙΝ ΕΡΩΤΙ ΚΑΙΝΟΤΟΜΙΑΣ ; ΤΑΥΤΗ ΓΟΥΝ ΦΑΣΙΝ ΕΠΑΣΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ³ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΝΟΜΩΝ ΩΡΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΛΗΜΜΕΛΟΥΣΙ ΤΗΝ ΖΗΜΙΑΝ.

"[The Gentiles] are persuaded, that they themselves, in honouring the Deities, act justly; and that we are extremely irreligious, and violators of the law, who can despise such evident, and such benevolent, Powers. [They consider] that every man ought to worship the [Gods] of his country, and not attempt to overthrow established customs²; that we should continue to follow the piety

¹⁰ The Polytheist goes on to blame the new converts, for "adopting the universally-hated fables of the Jews," and yet "not worshipping the Jewish deity according to the [Jewish] rites."

¹ Præp. Evang. præm. B. 4, [p. 130.]

² This argument was properly used, against innovators, by the Græcians, whose religion had existed from time immemorial, at any rate since the mission of Bacchus, or of Triptolemus. But, in the mouths of Christians, and still more of *Protestants*, or of Protestant *Dissenters*, such an argument, tho frequently used against Deists, may, I am afraid, be considered an egregious specimen of religious impudence.

of our forefathers, and not act as busy-bodies out of a love of novelty. Hence they say, that such offenders are justly punished by the law with death."³

Such, according to Eusebius, was the opinion of the worshippers of the Grecian gods, concerning the early apostates to the religion of Christ; and such, I believe, has been, and still is, the opinion of the worshippers of our holy Trinity, concerning apostates to the religion of Nature.

It is, however, very evident, that both the early christians, and the modern philosophers, must have been unjustly called *Atheists*, if by the word "Theos," or "God," they merely denoted the primary cause of all things.

Now supposing that almost all the metaphysicians, who pretend to any independency of thought, acknowledge Matter to be eternal, we then need not seek a cause for the world. But certainly the human race has not always existed. What then were we created from? According to the Hebrews, and their followers the Christians and (I believe) the Mohammedans, man was made of dust, that is (I suppose) of various fine particles of silex, or rather perhaps of alluvial matter. Yet it would be atheistical to affirm, that man naturally proceeded out of a sort of mud.⁴ Therefore Theism and Atheism only differ in supposing, that the formative particles were moved, either by the invisible finger of an always incomprehensible (and now perhaps defunct) Animal, or otherwise by the probably invisible agency of a now unknown modification or property of Matter.

The great primary Cause seems to have been considered—by the Grecian poets, to be Chaos, Oceanus, or Jupiter;—by the He-

³ But Death is no punishment. It is, however, an operation, which the magistrate never ought to ordain the performance of, except on such furious, destructive, and notoriously-untameable, animals (whether human or brutish), as are not thought worthy to be fed during perpetual confinement.

⁴ sed vid. ^{or. gr.} Tompon. Mel. B. 1, ch. 9, p. 12, edit. 1658. I may here observe, that John Tuberville Needham, who shewed that animalcula are generated in sour paste, is inveighed against, repeatedly, by Voltaire, as favouring materialism. Albeit, this Jesuitical F. R. S. was a pious catholic, and a most zealous opponent of anti-christianism.

-brews and Christians, to be Yehouh, Shedai, Elohim, the holy spirit, or the Logos;—and by the Philosophers, to be Necessity, Appetency, Nature, Matter, plastic forms, the Soul of the world, and the concurrence either of *homoiomereia* or of simple atoms. Persons, belonging to any one of these three sects, may, if unwillingly denoted atheists, reply, in the words of the christian Justinus:⁵ “We confess that we *are* atheists as regardeth those whom ye call Gods; but we are *not* atheists as regards the truest of the Gods.”⁶ Thus Justinus; and somewhat similar sentiments may be found in Athenagoras, Clemens Alex., and Arnobius.⁷

And here, before mentioning the various applications of the word “atheist” made by the christians among themselves, I will first give a list of some individuals among the *Pagans*, who (with more or less injustice) have been accused of atheism. The list is given us by J. A. Fabricius (vol. 1, p. 818 of his *Bibliotheca Græca*); and was, I suppose, drawn up by him. I copy it out the more willingly, because (except at the article “*atheismi* - -”) there are various parts of Fabricius’s very copious index, in which I have vainly sought references to it. I arrange the principal names *under* one another, in order, if possible, to give a reference for each.

“*vide Mariangelum Bonifacium à Reuten de atheismo Diagonæ, & eruditissimi Bælii lexicon in Diagona. Alii, philosophi maximè veteres, quibus atheismus jure an injuriâ impactus fuit, sunt*

Archagoras [*i* the orator, disciple of Protagoras?]

Anaximander [*vid. Reimmanni*⁸ *hist. atheismi*, p. 144]

⁵ apolog. II, p. 56.

⁶ “as if there could be false Gods!” exclaims Diderot:—I confess I forget where; but I think Naigeon particularly admires this simple yet profound sentiment.

⁷ *vid. Kortholt. p. 433, 434.*

⁸ I quote this work as being the best arranged, most compendious, and probably the most faithful and most learned, treatise on this subject. Where I cannot find a name in Reimmann’s history, I am obliged to have recourse to Buddeus’s dissertations. The few extra names, mentioned by Buddeus and Fabricius, seem taken from Valerius Maximus.

Apollophanes [; the Stoic who flattered K. Antigonus? vid. Bud-
Aristagoras Melius [vid. Buddeus, p. 57.] -deus, p. 57.]
Aristoteles [vid. Reimmann, p. 183, & 544.]

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Bion Borysthenites [vid. Reimmann, p. 176.]
Callimachus [vid. Buddeus, p. 57.]
Carneades [vid. Reimmann, p. 169, 170.]
Cinesias [vid. Buddeus, p. 57.]
Clitomachus, [vid. Reimmann, p. 171, 172.]
Critias [vid. Reimmann, p. 128, & 235.]
Daphidas [; the Epigrammatist crucified by K. Attalus? vid. Bud-
Democritus [vid. Reimmann, p. 210.] -deus, p. 57.]
Dicæarchus Messenius [vid. Reimmann, p. 233, & 237.]
Diogenes Phryx [vid. Reimmann, p. 222, ex Æliano.]
Epicurus [vid. Reimmann, p. 196, 197, & 545.]
Evemerus Tegeates [vid. Reimmann, p. 177, 178, & 246.]
Gorgias [vid. Reimmann, p. 223, thò not in index; & Buddeus, p. 57.]
Hippias Eleus [or perhaps "the Tyrant." vid. Buddeus, p. 57.]
Hippon Melius [vid. Reimmann, p. 146, & 177, ex Æliano & Clem.
Leucippus [vid. Reimmann, p. 209.] Alex.]
Nicagoras Cyprius [vid. Arnob. B. 4; but "Nicanor" ap. Clem. Alex.]
Plinius, historiæ nat. scriptor, [vid. Reimmann, p. 201, & 283-283.]
Prodicus Chius ["Ceus," vid. Reimmann, p. 132.]
Protagoras Abderita [vid. Reimmann, p. 39, 129-131, & 175.]
Pyrrho [vid. Reimmann, p. 219, & 545.]
et alii sceptici [vid. Reimmann, p. 84, & 218.]
præterea
Sosias [vid. Reimmann, p. 222, ex Æliano.]
Stilpo Megarensis [vid. Reimmann, p. 179.]
Strato Lampsacenus [vid. Reimmann, p. 186-188, & 545.]
Theodorus Cyrenæus [vid. Reimmann, p. 128, 143, 174-177.]
Xenophanes [vid. Reimmann, p. 203.]

Fuere etiam qui Anaxagoram, Ciceronem, Empedoclem, Euripi-
dem, Heraclitum, Panætium, Pythagoram, Socratem, et alios ejus-

* I think it a pity that Fabricius should here insert the name of *Averroes*. This commentator may perhaps have said "moriatur anima mea morte philosophorum"; but, if we admit, into the above list of ancient polytheistical philosophers, a Mahommedan who died in A. D. 1206, we might almost as well admit any other famous modern Aristotelician, such as *Pomponatius*, a christian who died in 1526.

-modi arguerent, hoc nomine, sed minore longe, ut videtur, specie verisimilitudinis. Lysippi Epirotæ catalogus ἀεζων memoratur in scholiis ad Apollon. p. 288."

The above list shews, I think, that almost all the most celebrated Grecian metaphysicians have been, either in their own, or in following ages, considered, with more or less reason, to be atheistically inclined. For *thô*, indeed, the word *Atheist* was probably not often used till about a hundred years before Christ, yet the imputation of *impiety* was no doubt as easily and commonly bestowed, before that period, as it has been afterwards.

Apuleius, in his apology,⁹ has well said: "hæc, fermé communi quodam errore imperitorum, philosophis objectantur: ut --- qui corporum causas meras & simplices rimantur, irreligiosos putent, eo que ajant Deos abnuere; ut *Anaxagoram*, & *Leucippum*, & *Democritum*, & *Epicurum*, ceteros que rerum naturæ patronos; ---"

It is said by Lady Morgan ("Italy," vol. 1, p. 413, edit. 1821, 8vo.) that "In the entire history of Greece, the death of Socrates is the only instance of religious persecution." But, (unless by "persecution" be meant the execution of a judicial sentence of death,) her ladyship's assertion is sufficiently disproved, by the accusations brought against—Anaxagoras, Aspasia, Protagoras, Aristoteles, Stilpo, Diagoras, Theodorus, and perhaps against Prodicus, not to mention the burning of the Pythagoreans, and the occasional banishment of the Epicureans.

Luckily for the present orthodoxy of the ancient Grecian philosophers, an anti-idolatrous faith replaced that polytheistical religion, under the prevalence of which, a man of wit must have found, at every step, palpable objects to excite his contempt and ridicule. Our learned saint, *Clemens* of Alexandria,¹⁰ has been extremely liberal in christianizing the old pagans:

" --- θαυμαζειν ενειμι μοι , οτωι τρονωι ευημερον τον ακραγαντινον , και νικανορα τον κυληριον , και διαγοραν , και ιπλωνα τον μηλιον , τον τε κυρηναιον επι τουτοικ εκεινον ο θεοδωρος ονομα αυτωι , και τινες αλλοις συχνοις , σωφρονως βεβιωκοτας , και καθεωρακοτας οζυ-

⁹ de magia oratio, p. 51, vol. 2, edit. 1738. Bipont.

¹⁰ protreptic. p. 20, 21, edit. Potter.

-ΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΟΓΥ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΙΠΩΝ ΑΝΕΡΩΠΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΦΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ-
-ΤΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΝΗΝ , ΑΘΕΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΚΕΚΛΗΚΑΣΙΝ ; ΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ
ΑΥΤΗΝ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΟΗΚΟΤΑΣ , ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΛΑΝΗΝ ΓΕ ΥΠΩΠΤΕΥΚΟΤΑΣ ;
ΟΠΕΡ ΟΥ ΣΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΦΡΟΝΗΣΕΩΣ ΖΩΛΥΡΟΝ ΑΝΑΦΥΕΤΑΙ
ΣΠΕΡΜΑ . - - ”

This famous passage of Clemens reminds every one of the yet more famous passage of *Justinus*:¹

“ΟΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΒΙΩΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΙ ΕΙΣΙ , ΚΑΙΝ ΑΘΕΟΙ
ΕΝΟΜΙΣΘΗΣΑΝ ; ΟΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΕΛΛΗΣΙ ΜΕΝ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ , ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ-
-ΤΟΣ , ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΟΜΟΙΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ; ΕΝ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ , ΚΑΙ
ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ , ΚΑΙ ΑΖΑΡΙΑΣ , ΚΑΙ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ , ΚΑΙ ΗΛΙΑΣ , ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΟΙ
ΠΟΛΛΟΙ , ΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ Η ΤΑ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΓΕΙΝ , ΜΑΚΡΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ
ΕΠΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΙ , ΤΑΝΥΝ ΠΑΡΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΘΑ . ΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΡΟΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ
ΑΝΕΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΒΙΩΣΑΝΤΕΣ , ΑΧΡΗΣΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΧΕΡΟΙ ΤΩΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ
ΗΣΑΝ , ΚΑΙ ΦΟΝΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΒΙΟΥΝΤΩΝ . ΟΙ ΔΕ ΜΕΤΑ ΛΟ-
-ΓΟΥ ΒΙΩΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ , ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΙ , ΚΑΙ ΑΦΟΒΟΙ , ΚΑΙ
ΑΤΑΡΑΧΟΙ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΥΣΙ . ”

The word *Atheist* seems, indeed, to have been used in a rather vague manner by most of the early Christians.

Thus Paulus Tarsensis (epist. ad Ephes. II, 12) tells his gentile converts, that formerly they were “*atheists* in the world.” In a similarly vague manner, *Hegesippus* (ap. Euseb.²) says, that, “after the death of the Apostles, there began a conspiracy of *atheistical error*,” by which he only means that many heresies arose. And indeed *Basilides*, and some other early heresiarchs, have been more or less accused of Atheism, by certain zealots.

Moreover, *Tatianus* is by Origenes accused of atheism, for not having rightly understood what Moses says of the creation of light. By a merited punishment, *Origines* himself, has, in later times, been suspected, however unjustly, of Spinosism.

¹ Apologia 2, p. 83, c & d. The passage is not much relished by some modern christians (vid. Walch. biblioth. patristica, p. 515, 516), who, no longer fearing pagan emperors, generally condemn pagan sages to tartarus.

² For this and the following quotations, down to the middle of the next page, I rely upon Reimmann. de Atheism. p. 319-331.

As Christ came to be considered equal with the deity his father, those who denied this equality might be considered atheistical. Hence *Arius* (ap. Epiphan.) complains, that the bishop Alexander (who afterwards prayed out his adversaries bowels) had banished him and his followers $\omega\varsigma$ ἀθεωολογς ἀθεογς. *Actius*, a disciple of Arius, was more peculiarly called the Atheist, as we are told by Socrates and Sozomenes; and *Eunomius*, the disciple of Aetius, is entitled an Atheist by St. Hieronymus.

That *Arians* (i.e. crypto-monotheists,) should be condemned by Athanasians (i.e. crypto-tritheists) as guilty of atheism, is not altogether illogical; but it seems strange, that *Severus* bishop of Antiochia, or else *Johannes Philoponus* of Alexandria, whose tritheism was more evident than orthodoxy permits, should be called, by Photius, “a polytheist and therefore an atheist.”

The above quotations sufficiently shew, that the *early* Christians used the word “atheist” with very little discrimination; nor have *modern* Christians been more exact. Otherwise, how, for instance, could those Jesuits,³ the ridiculous Garasse and the paradoxical Hardouin,⁴ find atheists everywhere; and how also could the “*Mi-nime et très minime*” father Mersenne say, that, in Paris alone, the number of atheists was 50,000?⁵

The truth appears to be, that atheism, among individuals born christians, is of very modern growth.

Those learned men, *Lisoius* and the other canons of Orleans, who were condemned to the stake in A.D. 1017, were probably only a sort of mystical deists; and, even if they were justly accused of

³ They have themselves been both accused of atheism. vid. Reim-mann, p. 407, 408; 418, 419.

⁴ The *Biographie Universelle* says, of this author's *Athei detecti*: “l'on ne peut s'empêcher d'éprouver un sentiment de pitié pour le P. Hardouin, quand on pense que les athées qu'il a découverts sont C. Jansenius, Ambroise-Victor (c'est-à-dire André-Martin), L. Thomassin, Quesnel, Ant. Legrand, P. Silv. Régis, Descartes, Male-branche, le grand Arnauld, Nicole et l'illustre Pascal.”

⁵ In quoting Mersenne, Reimmann, the *Biographie Universelle*, &c. give the number 50,000, Buddeus, and Sylvain Maréchal 60,000. But, in the year 1623, to which Mersenne's account refers, even 50,000 must, I should think, have been nearly a half of the adult male inhabitants of Paris.

manicheism, yet it is notorious, that the Manicheans, however much ignorant christians might abuse them, were not atheists, but only (what may be called) dualists or duoprincipalists.

Pierre *Abelard*, *Amauri* de Chartres, and David de *Dinant*, who succeed one another in the dark ages, were surely nothing more than men whose intellect was rather superior to that of the blind bigots who surrounded them.

The saying, attributed, either to the learned Emperor *Frederic II*, or otherwise to a certain French theologian named *Simon* of Tournay, was probably not seriously spoken, if indeed it be not altogether fictitious; and the saying of King *Alfonso X* was, as many persons have remarked, not so much an insult to the wisdom of the great creative power, as to the system of the astronomer Ptolemæus.

Barba (de Ciliâ), Empress of Germany, was merely a woman of strong animal passions. Many *Troubadours* were either thoughtless upon religious subjects, or may have occasionally attacked priestcraft; without being seriously atheistical. Certain *Italian* politicians are condemned by Dante, perhaps from mere party spirit. The Greek-Italian poet, Michael *Marullus*, may now and then have inveighed against the cruelties of the divine power; but not so as to make proselytes, or to expose himself to persecution.

Dolet, who was burnt in 1546, suffered rather for lutheranism than for atheism. Geoffroy *Vallée*, who was put to death in 1574, was not an atheist, but an epicurean-deist; as also probably was his more fortunate great-nephew, *Desbarreaux*. The same may have been the creed of the poets *Théophile*,⁶ *Saint-Pavin*, and *Linière*.⁷

⁶ This poet, altho he had abjured protestantism, and afterwards wrote in favour of the immortality of the soul, was nevertheless brought to a premature death by the insatiable hatred of the Jesuits. One of this holy body, Garasse, wrote, while his enemy was in prison, "that Pasquier, the Cardinal Wolsey, Scaliger, Luther, Calvin, Beza, the King of England, the landgrave of Hesse, and Théophile are *bélistres d'athéistes et de carpocratians*" (vid. Voltaire, lettre sur les Français, œuvr. tom. 41, p. 217). Théophile replied to these base insults with dignity and moderation (vid. Biogr. Univ., tom. 45, p. 341, b.)

⁷ Boileau said that Linière had no wit except against the deity.

Giordano *Bruno* was, as regards metaphysics, a semi-pythagorian, or rather perhaps an eleatico-platonist. That *Vanini* was not really an apostle of atheism, is proved in *Arpe's* apology, particularly in the excellent abstract (p. 106-108), which concludes with "*damnatus tamen: ut multi innocentes.*"

Knutzen's sect of "Conscienciaries" seems to have soon expired. Lord *Herbert* was a superstitious deist. The metaphysical doctrine of materialism, advanced by *Hobbes*, must have found fewer readers, as this writer maintained likewise a political doctrine of most imperious tyranny. *Spinoza's* materialism, drawn up according to the method of the geometricians, is surely more spoken of than read. *Bayle* was only a sceptic.

In short, (for this list might be carried to an awful length,) atheism, in its purely negative sense, probably did not exist—in England, till the time of *Toland*,—and⁸ in France till the time of *Diderot*, and *d'Holbach*, and their friends *Damila*, *Saint-Lambert*, &c.

Toland, in his "*Pantheisticon*" (*Cosmopoli*, 8vo., 1720), says: "*sodales pantheistæ præcipue et præ aliis locis omnibus Londini abundant, ibique sedem et quasi arcem suæ sectæ collocant.*" Albeit I think it is very evident, that there was no sect of atheists in *Toland's* time, at any rate not in England. Even now, the few atheists that exist here, seem very distrustful of one another, and are scarcely to be found except among the working ^{in districts like Finsbury} classes.⁹

Dr. Johnson, our english pensioned moral critic, has similarly said, that a scholar would despise the facility of impious allusions (or words to that effect). These satirists seem not to have been aware what hypothesis they were in reality satirizing. I will only say The Lord protect the Lord from the Lord's friends!

⁸ I can say nothing of the Germans, except that this bookish and speculative people seem to have less esteem for the pantheism of the materialist *Schelling* than for the transcendentalism of the idealist *Fichte*. Albeit even *Fichte* was accused of atheism. "*Il éprouva le sort de beaucoup d'hommes de génie, il fut accusé d'athéisme par des gens qui l'avaient mal compris.*" *Biogr. Univers.*, tom. 14, p. 489, a.

⁹ The different enjoyment of political rights is probably the reason, why anti-christianism, which began in France among the wealth-consumers, begins in England among the wealth-producers.

In France, atheism sprung up later, but more successfully. In 1748, *de Maillet's* posthumous work attempted to describe a natural cosmogony, which was perhaps improved upon in the book "de la Nature"¹⁰ published, in 1761, by Robinet, who however afterwards recanted. *La Mettrie* published, in 1745, his "Histoire naturelle de l'ame;" and, in 1748, his "Homme-machine" and his "Homme-plante." In 1758, *Helvétius* published his "de l'Esprit," a work which every where indirectly announces materialism.

But these writers, except the last, were unconnected individuals. *D'Holbach* and his friends could assist and countenance each other; and, working in secret, could, without subjecting themselves to persecution, compose that multitude of anonymous and pseudonymous publications, of which the "Système de la Nature," published in 1770, is the most famous.

It would hardly be supposed, that, during any part of the French republic, atheism would have been made a pretext for judicial murder. But we must not be deceived by names. That *soi-disante* republic was in reality little more than the government of a few self-erected clubs. The consequence was (such as might be expected among a people degraded by immemorial superstition)—an ignorant and ferocious tyranny. Robespierre (who proclaimed both the existence of a supreme being and the immortality of the soul, and who even perhaps undertook to defend the ecclesiastics) sent to the scaffold—*Chaumette, Clootz, Momoro, Vincent, Dubuisson*, &c.—as members of an atheistical, anarchical, and ultra-revolutionary faction.¹¹

The military man, who, six or seven years afterwards, became the master of France, was yet more willing, or at any rate more

¹⁰ This book must not be confounded with Morelly's "Code de la Nature" (Partout, chez le vrai sage, 1755, 12mo.) written in favour of, that primary but much neglected law of Christianity, the community of property.

¹¹ But these members of the Commune were not Atheists in the real sense of that word. They wished men to pay worship to personifications of Nature and Reason. They were therefore religionists, and even idololaters. The true Atheist maintains only negative doctrines in metaphysics; he carefully avoids sectarianism; he considers all processions as nuisances; and he makes no appeal to the public except through the calm medium of the press.

able, than his predecessor, to put down the infidels. In a school-book¹² printed under the despotism of this Robespierre-on-horse-back, we read in a conspicuous place:

"D. Par quel acte public Napoléon I a-t-il commencé son regne?
R. Par un décret en faveur de la religion."

Indeed the French emperor seems to have used the same politico-religious means of over-awing the people, which have since been adopted and improved by his Austrian father-in-law.¹ Even one of our own Tory writers says, of a Bonapartean treatise:

"The imperial catechism, promulgated under authority, proclaimed the duties of the catechumen to the emperor, to be love, obedience, fidelity, and military service; the causes assigned were Napoleon's high and miraculous gifts, his immediate mission from the Deity, and the consecration by the pope; and the menace to disloyalty was no less than eternal condemnation—here and hereafter."²

Thus did the Cromwell of France make a tool of our holy religion, tho I suppose his European christianity was not more sincere than his Egyptian mahomedanism. He was however a believer in fatalism, the most dangerous (because the most indefeasible and intangible) of superstitions. At all events, it was an unfortunate mistake, in Sylvain Maréchal, or rather perhaps in Lalande,³ to have inserted the name of this victorious General in their "Dictionnaire des Athées."

And assuredly there never was a work, in which persons were more unjustly entitled Atheists, than in the last mentioned laborious compilation.

Here we meet with—the Anglican divines, Berkeley, Clarke,

¹² "Instruction sur l'histoire de France." Paris, 1806.

¹ See above, in my first appendix, p. 15, 16.

² I borrow this sentence from "Paul's letters to his Kinsfolk," p. 396. The author adds, that the Prussian government (probably of Frederic William II) had previously written a catechism of this kind, but not quite in so barefaced a style. I have read somewhere that even Frederick the Great, tho a notorious infidel, encouraged religion among his subjects, manifestly with the view of giving himself an additional hold on their allegiance.

³ vid. Biogr. Univ. tom. 29, p. 9, note 1, b.

Cudworth, Hall,⁴ Sherlock, and Whitby;—the foreign protestant theologians, Pierre Dumoulin, Jurien, Basnage, and Beausobre;—the religious reformers, Wickliffe, Luther, Melancthon, Beza, and Osiander;—the religious philosophers, Grotius, Locke, Newton, Leibnitz, and Lambert;⁵ and Descartes, Malebranche,⁶ and Pascal;—the intolerant Justus Lipsius;—the præ-adamitical La Peyrère; the half-witted Postel;—the popish theologians, Cardinals Baronius, and Bellarminus, the intolerant Bossuet, the mystic Fenelon, the pious sceptics Hirnhaym and Huet, the cabalistical Gaffarel, the turn-coat Pelisson, and a host of other zealots, Garasse, Mersenne, Jansenius, Arnauld, Houteville, &c, &c. We have even most of the Fathers of the Church; Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Athanasius, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Lactantius, Dionysius Areopagita, Cyprianus, Minucius Felix, Tertullianus, and Justinus!; nay, St. Paul of Tarsus, and the evangelist St. John,!!; and, to crown all, the venerated name of Jesus!!!

It may, I think, be affirmed as a general rule, that no person ever yet argued about the essence of the Deity, without being accused of impiety, either by his contemporaries, or by posterity. As Anaxagoras and Socrates (to whom we are the most indebted for the prevailing idea of the Deity) were prosecuted by the bigots of their own time; so there is, I believe, scarcely any philosopher of ancient or modern times, who has not been accused of Atheism by one or more of our *Atheographers*, Garasse, Mersenne, and Hardouin; Vossius, Voëtius, Spizelius, Reiserus, Kortholt, Calvoer, Parker, Leibnitz, Buddeus, Reimmann, Struve, Thomasius,⁷ &c.

⁴ This Rt. Rev. Bishop is however reported to have said, that the most useful book that could be written, would be “de paucitate credendorum.” vid. Dict. Hist. tom. 8, p. 216, 217.

⁵ This Prussian does indeed say, that we often believe we believe more than we really believe. *Novum Organum*, quoted by Helvétius “de l’Homme,” section IV, note 68.

⁶ But Reimmann, p. 417, 418, gives, out of this Oratorian’s “*Récherches de la vérité*,” twelve most dangerous propositions, which might have sent to the stake any one except a licensed pseudo-theist. Moreover, the Oratorian had even the blasphemous impertinence to publish a serious dialogue between himself and the second person of our holy Trinity.

⁷ I mean *Jenkinus* Thomasius, a name which I cannot find in vari-

D'Holbach, in his "Système de la Nature," (Tom. 3, ch. 4, p. 137, note) says: "Descartes, Pascal, le docteur Clarke lui-même ont été accusé d'athéisme par les théologiens de leur temps, ce qui n'empêche point que les théologiens subséquens ne fassent usage de leurs preuves et ne les donnent comme très-valables. Depuis peu un auteur célèbre (sous le nom du docteur Baumann) vient de publier un ouvrage dans lequel il prétend que toutes les preuves données jusqu' à présent de l'existence de Dieu sont caduques; il leur substitue les siennes, tout aussi peu convaincantes que les autres."

Similarly, in his "Christianisme dévoilé" (p. 94, note), d'Holbach says: "Jamais les Theologiens Chrétiens n'ont été d'accord entr' eux sur les preuves de l'existence d'un Dieu. Ils se traitent réciproquement d'*Athées*, parce que leurs démonstrations ne sont jamais les mêmes. Il est très-peu de gens, parmi les Chrétiens, qui aient écrit sur l'existence de Dieu, sans se faire accuser d'*athéisme*. Descartes, Clarke, Pascal, Arnauld, Nicole, ont été regardés comme des athées;—."

But now let me mention a few isolated individuals, who, often for ridiculous reasons, have been accused of impiety.⁸

Pierre *Brissot*, M.D., who died in 1522, ventured to maintain that a pleuritical patient ought to be bled on the side affected. But the King of Portugal issued a decree to the contrary; and afterwards, in 1529, the followers of Dr. Denys persuaded the emperor Charles V. that Brissot's method was an attack upon reli-

-ous biographical dictionaries, no doubt because the author's real name was Jenkin Philipps, as Walchius tells us (Biblioth. Theol. vol. 1, p. 740). I might however perhaps consider *Christianus Thomasius* as an atheographer; altho this philosopher was banished at the instigation of the theologians, describes what happened to him in consequence of the imputation of atheism, and intended to write an apology for those falsely accused of this sentiment.

⁸ I must here express my regret, that I do not possess the treatise of Joh. Christ. *Wolfius* "de atheismi falso suspectis." Wittemb. 1709, 1717. Treatises of a similar kind (mentioned by Walchius, Bibl. Theol. vol. 1, p. 742) are—that of Jacobus *Hasæus* "de gentiliū philosophis atheismi falso suspectis." Brem. 1716;—that of J. Chr. *Burgmann* "de Stoâ à spinozismo et atheismo exculpandâ." Wittemb. 1721;—and also those written to defend the theism of Hippocrates. A.

-gion, being an impious and mortal doctrine, as injurious to the body as Lutheranism is to the soul.⁹

Such an argument might be held in the 16th. century.¹⁰ It reminds me, that, in the next century, the use of emetic tartar was, if I mistake not, made a subject of religious dispute, even in France; and that, on the other hand, a protestant lady, the duchess of Marlborough,¹ at a still later period, refused to be cured of an ague by the use of cinchona, because that admirable medicine bore the name of "Jesuits' powder."

About the year 1700, the pious *Boërhaave* (who had received a gold medal for opposing the systems of Epicurus, Hobbes, and Spinoza) was reported to be himself a spinosist, and was consequently deterred from offering himself for ordination, because he had once ventured to ask an ignorant declaimer against spinosism whether he had ever read the works of the author whom he decried.²

Haller, another pious doctor of medicine, was addressed by his confrère *La Mettrie*³ as an atheist; but the aristocrat and poet was a very religious man, and even wrote against Voltaire, to

⁹ vid. Bayle, Dict. art. "Brissot," note B.

¹⁰ *Vesalius*, who died in 1564, was accused of impiety, before the Inquisition, for having dissected a body in which (according to the accusers) life was not extinct. The biographers of Vesalius say, that—"les moines espagnols lui firent cruellement expier ses éternelles plaisanteries sur leur ignorance, leur costume et leurs mœurs. Les inquisiteurs saisirent avec avidité l'occasion offerte pour se débarrasser d'un savant incommode. Comme Socrate chez les anciens, et tant d'hommes illustres parmi les modernes, Vesale mourut donc victime de cette guerre tantôt sourde et tantôt déclarée, que les apôtres de l'erreur et du mensonge firent de tout temps aux scrutateurs de la nature et de la vérité." Biogr. Univers. tom. 48, p. 309, a.

¹ vid. Voltaire, Dict. Phil., art. "Cartésianisme."

² vid. *Chaufepié*, Dict. art. "Boerhaave," note I. And here let me condemn the imprudence of questioning. Belief, or disbelief, is involuntary; but silence is the first grand requisite, for any one who aims at riches and honours. A silent philosopher will be d——d only in the next world; but a questioner will be d——d even in this.

³ In the dedication of his "Homme-machine," Leyden, 1743, 8vo.

whom, during the travels of Joseph II, he was preferred by the imperial and most christian sagacity of Maria Theresa.

And this must suffice concerning practitioners in medicine. Albeit I could no doubt bring forward many more instances of similar accusations brought against those learned individuals, if I had ever seen the "*Apologia pro medicis atheismi accusatis*" (Amsterdam, 1736, 8vo.) written by, that learned young man, Elias Frederick Heister.

It was, I suppose, as literary and not as medical men, that, in 1557, &c. the doctors J. C. Scaliger and Hieronymus Cardanus (as also in 1607, &c., the critics J. J. Scaliger and Gasparus Scioppius) mutually accused one another of atheism,⁴ out of a spirit of mere quarrelsomeness and abusiveness, and with scarcely any appearance of reason.

Francis *Burmam*, S. T. P., the elder, who died in 1679, was accused of spinosism by the arminian Philip van Limborch, an accusation which was victoriously refuted by Francis Burmann the younger, in his "*Burmannonum pietas*" published in 1701.

And how many other divines have been accused of atheism! Some journalist or other⁵ has said, that "it is not astonishing if the Jesuits sometimes defend the philosophy of Wolff, for the Jesuits are all atheists." J. J. Rousseau says, that he had never met with more than three priests who believed in God. No doubt, indeed, there have been various ecclesiastics, who, as it is reported of Cardinal *Duperron*,⁶ would, in the hope of pleasing

⁴ Abuse and calumny are the grand support of critics. A person accused of atheism may often reply to his accuser, what Saint-Pavin replied to Boileau:

"en verité je lui pardonne;
s'il n'eut mal parlé de personne,
personne n'eût parlé de lui."

⁵ vid. Voltaire, conseils à un journaliste, œuvres, tom. 41, p. 291. A.

⁶ vid. Voëtius, quoted by Bayle, art. Monin, note C. But, according to the Dict. Hist. Univers. (tom. 13, p. 429, 430) it is acknowledged that the anecdote is not sufficiently attested. Yet Chalmers (dict. vol. 24, p. 351) seems to think it may be true. I may here observe, that, according to an extract from Pasquier (given in the Dict. des Athées, p. 262, 263.) the learned, but perhaps heretical, Jesuit Maldonado argued, in one of his lectures, the *sufficiency* of the natural proofs of the deity, and, in another lecture, the *insufficiency* of these proofs.

a king, offer to argue, as well *against* the existence of a deity, as *for* it.

I will give only one more anecdote. An Italian musician of the 18th. century, named *Porpora*,⁷ composed, and executed with great applause, a Credo, the beginning of which he is said to have lengthened, in order to suit his measure, by prefixing a "non." It is said also, that, when brought before the Inquisition, he was acquitted, on proving that he did not understand Latin.

Thus much of isolated and often ludicrous instances of alledged atheism. Let us now search for some practical meaning of this most obnoxious word.

Tertullianus says to the gentiles:⁸ "It is you who are impious, sacrilegious, and irreligious, towards your Gods; you, who neglect those whom you believe in, who destroy those whom you fear, who ridicule those whom you avenge." And what *Tertullianus* here says, of the manner in which the Pagans treated their material Deities, may be said of the Christians, as regards their im-material Deities: for surely those Christians are atheists of the worst kind, who swear, who hoard up their wealth, who make war, and who persecute heretics, in direct opposition to that Deity who has said Swear not at all, Sell what thou hast and give to the poor, Resist not evil, and Love your enemies.

*Helvétius*⁹ says: "Rien de moins déterminé que la signification de ce mot *impie*, auquel on attache si souvent une idée vague & confuse de scélératesse. Entend-on par ce mot un *athée*? Donne-t-on ce nom à celui qui n'a que des idées obscures de la divinité? en ce sens, tout le monde est *athée*: car personne ne comprend l'incompréhensible. Applique-t-on ce nom aux soi-disants matérialistes? mais si l'on n'a point encore d'idées nettes & complètes de la matière, on n'a point en ce sens d'idées nettes & complètes de l'impie matérialiste. Traitera-t-on d'*athées* ceux qui n'ont pas de Dieu la même idée que les catholiques? Il faudra donc appeler de ce nom les païens, les hérétiques & les infidèles; en ce dernier sens, *athée* n'est plus synonyme de scélérat.

⁷ The Dictionnaire Historique is my only authority for this most improbable anecdote. I know not whether the musician in question was the famous Nicolò Porpora, who died, aged 82, in 1767.

⁸ Apolog. ch. 13; vid. Kortholt, p. 437.

⁹ "de l'Homme," section IV, note 75. ^.

Il désigne un homme qui, sur certains points de métaphysique ou de théologie, ne pense pas comme le moine & la Sorbonne. Pour que ce mot d'*athée*, ou d'impie, rappelle à l'esprit quelque idée de scélératesse, à qui l'appliquer?—aux *persécuteurs*." Thus Helvétius. And certainly it is just to consider persecutors as atheists; because, if we may judge of the Deity from the beloved of the Deity, they tend to prove that God is possessed of unamiable attributes. And what is said of men of power, who inflict persecution, ought to be said of men of letters, who recommend or justify persecution. But how many, even of the most highly patronized publications, would then be laid aside as atheistical, which are now considered especially religious!

Let us then no longer hear the jackal-cry of the fanatics, that atheistical publications must be put down; for there is no book, however orthodox, which may not be proved, in some sense or other, to be, directly or indirectly, atheistical. And why should not Atheists be tolerated as much as Unitarians? Is it so slight an offence to dock off two thirds of our holy and indivisible Trinity, and is it so grievous an offence to doubt concerning the single remaining third? And who are the atheists that they should be so persecuted?—

"Speculative Atheists are those unhappy people, who, being too fond of knowledge or reasoning, are first deluded into scepticism, till, unable to extricate themselves from the mazes of Philosophy, they are at last betrayed into a disbelief of every thing they cannot comprehend, and become the most convincing evidences of the shallowness of human understanding. The number of these has always been very small; and, as they are commonly studious peaceable men, the hurt they do to the publick is inconsiderable."

I extract the above paragraph from Dr. Mandeville¹⁰; but, should this writer be rejected as heterodox, I can refer to a most orthodox or rather ultra-orthodox, authority. The Jesuit Martinus *Becanus*¹ says: "Altho' atheists do not believe in a Providence, yet they do not cease to follow, in very many cases, the rules of honesty. They neither steal, nor murder; they abhor lying; they keep their promises; they detest unjust wars, and love peace."

¹⁰ Free Thoughts, p. 4.

¹ Opusc. Theol. Tom. 1, as quoted in the Dict. des Ath. p. 35.

APPENDIX THE THIRD.

VARIOUS DEFINITIONS OF AN IMPORTANT WORD.

I DEEM it unnecessary to prove that almost all the Grecian philosophers believed (thó with various degrees of modification) that *Nature is God*.¹ The principal Greek metaphysicians, who can be supposed to have thought otherwise, are Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Plato.²

Thales, like most other ancient physiologists, constructed his cosmogony, without—either admitting, excluding, or in any way re-

¹ In this hypothesis I include, not only that the universe—but also, that the soul of the world—is God. I will not therefore admit, into my text, any separate paragraph concerning the *Stoics*; who, despite of their canting about the wisdom, providence, &c. of the deity, notoriously believed that god (as every thing else) is corporeal—viz. that he is a fire, warmth, or animal spirit, penetrating into inanimate matter, and producing the four various effects of attraction, vegetation, sensation, and intelligence. The *Stoics* believed in a multitude of inferior gods, some sidereal, and others even personal. They also admitted divination. Most of them likewise, from their doctrine of the periodical renovations of the universe, may be accused of supposing, that the deity (whom they often call Nature, Jupiter, &c.) occasionally thickens himself into a world, and afterwards thins himself back again into his own fiery substance.

² I say nothing about *Democritus* and his follower *Epicurus*, whose gods (invented seemingly only to please vulgar prejudice) were created, not creative; being mere apparitions, or thin (thó eternal) confluences of atoms, and who, moreover, were indifferent to human affairs. Yet the deities of *Epicurus* agree with that of most christians, in being anthropomorphous, and perhaps in the inhabiting intermundane space.

-ferring to a god. But althô the founder of the Ionic sect did not allude to a demiourgical deity, yet he considered all things to be full of gods or spirits, and proved this by referring to the attractiveness of the loadstone and of amber.³ Thus says Meiners.⁴ But Brucker⁵ is not content with attributing to the most learned of the seven sages so meagre a theology. He adds, that *Thales* believed, in the system of emanations, and in the *anima mundi*. The truth seems to be, that the doctrine of *Thales* can only be collected from very uncertain and contradictory data.

Pythagoras, like most of the ancient theologers especially the Egyptians, considered, that it was difficult and dangerous to speak to the people concerning god and the divine natures, and that no one ought to relate these mysteries to the profane. The merited reward of this contemptuous and aristocratical taciturnity was, that in a few centuries the Pythagoric theology became extremely uncertain. Brucker thinks, that the deity of *Pythagoras* is best described in the following passage, extracted, by *Cyrrillus Alexandrinus*,⁶ from, apparently, some old Pythagoric writer:

"The deity is unique. [He] is not, as some suppose, beyond the universal-frame; but he is wholly in himself, in the whole circle. [He] watcheth over all acts-of-production, being a mixture of the universe, eternally, and a worker of his [own] powers and works. [He is the] beginning of all [things,] [he is] one, [he is] a luminary in heaven; and of all [things] father, mind, and spirituality of the universe, [the] motion of all the circles."

Brucker deduces, from this passage, and from various others, that the Pythagoric deity is a most subtle mundane fire, endued with the active faculty of moving, forming, and, according to certain laws, of disposing, all things; the which deity, thô in himself a

³ So the Savages consider that a watch, a ship, a gun, &c. are animated by a *spirit*. see *Le Bon Sens*, ch. 20, 21; & the *Système de la Nature*, tom. 3, p. 217, note.

⁴ According to this author (in his "de vero deo" p. 255-258) we must reject the metaphysical notions of a supreme deity attributed to *Thales*, by *Diogenes Laertius* (B. 1, ch. 35), by the author of the *Banquet of the seven sages* (which *Wytenbach* reclaims for *Plutarchus*), and even by *Cicero* (*de N. D.*, B. 1, ch. 10).

⁵ vid. Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* vol. 1, p. 467-475.

⁶ apud Brucker, vol. 1, p. 1077; & ap. *Sched. de Diis*, p. 298.

most subtle Matter, is nevertheless *incorporeal*, according to the sense usually given by the ancients to this word.

Thus Brucker. But Meiners is of a different opinion. He wishes to rely only on what Aristoteles says of the Pythagoreans; and does not mention the passage of Cyrillus, no doubt considering it as too modern. According to the great German eclectic,⁷ the ancient *Pythagoreans* (however absurdly) derived all things from a Number or Numbers. They believed, indeed, in an all-pervading divine force; but they considered that this, as every thing else, was generated from Numbers. They thought, therefore, no more about a Mind as creative of the universe, than the disciples of Thales did. They considered that excellence and beauty did not consist in the principles of things, but in the things produced by these principles; hence, instead of worshipping Numbers, they highly revered the central fire round which the Earth and Stars revolve. They considered also, that the *Æther* is a deity, and that human minds are particles of this divine *Æther*.

And here I may be expected to insert a few words concerning the founder of the *Eleatic* sect: for Clemens Alexandrinus⁸ says:

ΕΥ ΓΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ Ὁ ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΣ, ΔΙΔΑΚΩΝ ὍΤΙ
ἜΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ, ΕΠΙΦΕΡΕΙ:

“ ἜΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, ΕΝ ΤΕ ΘΕΟΙΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ,
ΟΥ ΤΙ ΔΕΜΑΣ ΘΗΗΤΟΙΣΙΝ ὍΜΟΙΟΣ, ΟΥΔΕ ΝΟΗΜΑ.”

It may be questioned whether Clemens was authorized to deduce the incorporeity of the Xenophanëan god, from these two verses. Meiners⁹ blames Clemens for having made so perverse an interpretation.

And here let me observe that we ought always to distinguish between corporeity and materiality. The *Deity* of Xenophanes was not corporeal, because it was not a body like any animal body; but it might, I think, be considered material, as being co-in-existent¹⁰ with the universe, or as being a latent *force* dwelling in

⁷ de vero Deo, p. 307, 308.

⁸ stromat. B. 6, p. 714, edit. Potter.

⁹ de vero Deo, p. 332, 333, note.

¹⁰ According to Sextus Empiricus (quoted by Meiners, &c.) Xenophanes believed ἘΝ ΕἶΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΣΥΜΦΥΗ

matter.¹ Such a *force* ought surely to be considered material, unless we affirm the immateriality of gravity, electricity, &c., viz. of those properties of Matter by which alone Matter is known to us.

The Xenophanëan god possessed, I suppose, only a vegetative power. If it had not this power, I know not how to distinguish it from nothing. It probably rather sympathized with, than produced, the periodical renovations of parts of the universe.² At all events it did not concern mankind: for Xenophanes, as afterwards Epicurus, rejected divination; which, if I mistake not, was considered by the Greeks the main proof of a peculiar providence.³

*Anaxagoras*⁴ may be considered as one of the principal inventors, or creators, of what is now called *God*.⁵ Rejecting the emanative, he imagined a dualistical, system; viz. a system of two principles,—God and Matter, both eternal. God, an infinite incorporeal Mind, gave motion to the previously quiescent Matter, which then, of itself, by the concurrence of the ὁμοιομερείαι, or homogeneous particles,

τοῖς ἁπλῇ. The word *συνφύγη* seems very difficult to translate: Meiners (p. 327) renders it "eundem."

¹ vid. Brucker, vol. 1, p. 1151.

² I suppose the Xenophanëan Deity is not considered to be the soul of the world, because he would then be more active and influential.

³ Yet *Xenophanes*, like other philosophers called atheistical, hated those fables of the poets which degrade the Gods (vid. Laert. B. 9, ch. 18). His disdain of superstitious rites is mentioned by Plutarchus (supra, p. 48, 49). In didactics he was an esoterist, in dialectics a sceptic or rather a rationalist, and in physics one of the earliest of the neptunians.

⁴ I say nothing about *Hermotimus* of Clazomenæ, because it might sound ill to attribute the discovery of "the true God," to a man who (unless epileptical) was probably an impostor. Nevertheless see Brucker, H. Ph., vol. 1, p. 493, note r; and Meiners, de vero deo, p. 253.

⁵ In the history of early metaphysics, it is always necessary to distinguish between *θεός*, οἱ *θεοί*, and *το θεῖον*. Also we must of course distinguish, as much as we can, between the *principle* out of which, and the *cause* by which, all things were created.

assumed the forms which now exist. The God of Anaxagoras seems to have pervaded Matter, but to have been independent of Matter. It appears to me, that Anaxagoras only wanted a First-Mover, and that, this obtained, he made no further reference to a deity. He therefore, I suppose, excluded a particular Providence. Observe, that his denial of the divinity of the celestial bodies, and his affirmation that the Sun is only an immense red hot stone,⁶ brought down upon him a great deal of theological hatred, and was even blamed by Socrates and Plato.⁷

Socrates believed that "the Deity, tho' he cannot be perceived, may be discovered." I know not what this means, but I translate literally from Brucker, (vol. 1, p. 560). Again: *Socrates* believed, that "God is the cause of the universe, and that this may be proved from the appearance of contrivance evident in its construction." He believed, that "God takes care of man, both of his mind and body"; and that God is omniscient and omnipresent. Moreover, *Socrates* admitted various inferior Gods, or Spirits, whom men are bound to honour. He also approved of divination.⁸ He is ridiculed by *Aristophanes* as a cloud-worshipper. It is notorious that he pretended to have a familiar *dæmon*, concerning whom he expressed himself very enigmatically.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, *Socrates* does not appear to have invented much nonsense concerning spiritual natures. *Lactantius* (B. 3, ch. 19) tells us that *Socrates* was wont to say: "What is above us does not concern us"—a sentence which, according to our Christian *Cicero*, attacks religion. Brucker (p. 537) blames *Lactantius* for this inference; which, however, appears to be the

⁶ See above, p. 36 or 37, (note 8) of my reprint of *Plutarch's* treatise.

⁷ vid. Brucker, vol. 1, p. 510. According to *Meiners* (p. 366-368), *Aristoteles* and *Plato* blamed *Anaxagoras*, because he more frequently (as they said) spoke of Necessity than of God, and made no reference to the Deity till he could not explain a difficulty otherwise. On the other hand, *Socrates* blamed *Anaxagoras*, because he investigated too closely the plans of the Gods, and also because he denied the divinity of the celestial bodies, which was acknowledged, not only by *Socrates*, but also by various other philosophers, viz: *Anaximander*, *Alcmæon*, *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, *Theophrastus*, *Zeno*, and *Cleanthes*. (vid. *Sched.*, de *Diis*, p. 77, 78.)

⁸ vid. Brucker, vol. 1, p. 562, 563.

natural one. In short: the great Athenian philosopher believed (or thought he believed) in one supreme god; but it does not appear that he has ever positively defined what he meant by this word. Socrates was averse to the idle disputes of metaphysicians; and his object seems to have been, that of every modest philosopher, not to build up a system of his own, but to shew the slight foundation of existing systems.

Plato, like all or most of the ancient philosophers, seems to have admitted the very simple doctrine "*ex nihilo nihil fit.*"⁹ He believed that God and Matter were co-eternal. Matter was in a state of chaos; but the deity arranged and adorned it, having for this purpose before him an Idea, that is a model or pattern. Thus Plato admitted three Principles,—God, Matter, and Idea.¹⁰ What Plato meant by the Idea, which is also called Logismos and Logos, perhaps even Plato himself did not know; tho it is probable that he might mean a reason, or divine mind, emanating from the Deity. Matter was of a refractory and evil nature; so that god could not make the world absolutely perfect. The Deity is

⁹ Mosheim (appendix to Cudworth, vol. 2, p. 287–346) maintains that the doctrine of a creation from nothing originated in the Christians. But is it probable that such an abstraction should have been invented by a barbarous demi-jewish sect? I should have thought that the apostolic Hermas might have derived this refined doctrine from the works of some philosopher now lost. Yet we read in the *Système de la Nature* (tom. 3, p. 236, note) "*Un auteur qui a voulu réfuter Spinoza, prétend que Tertullien est le premier qui ait soutenu cette opinion contre un autre philosophe chrétien qui soutenait l'éternité de la matière. Voyez l'Impie convaincu, [by Aubert de Versé,] à la fin de l'avertissement.*"

¹⁰ This triad of Archæ (or Principles,) was afterwards changed into a triad of Hypostases (or Persons) which was generally constructed of—1st. a father, or latent Deity,—2ndly. a Mind or Intelligence,—3rdly. a mundane or supramundane soul. We Christians say, that this alteration was made, in order to effect an approximation with our own most sublime and incomprehensible trinity. But, should we Christians have ever thought of a triad, if the Platonicians had not set us the example? I am disposed to imagine, that, either the trinitarian formula of baptism inserted at the end of Matthew's gospel is an interpolation (tho found in all the MSS.), or that otherwise our earliest extant gospel is not so ancient as we generally suppose.

the Father of the world. He made it spherical, and placed in it a soul. A variety of Gods and Dæmons were generated at the same time with the soul of the world. The Sun, Moon, and Stars are Gods. The world will endure eternally, but undergoes periodical renovations.

Aristoteles believed, not only that Matter is eternal, but also that the World is eternal, having been made and moved from all eternity by god. The Deity is a mind, immutable and impassible, an eternal and most perfect animal, perpetually employed¹ in imparting motion to the universe.² Chance and Fortune are the causes of whatever is contrary to Nature. Besides the Causes, there are two Principles, namely Matter and Form. As this world is moved by one deity, so the stars are moved by other deities; thò, whether these deities are dependent on our deity, *Aristoteles* does not absolutely say. Besides the Deity, who is incorporeal, there exists what is called "a fifth body," (which is corporeal, but immortal and spontaneously-moving,) from whence our souls or intellects are derived. There also exists a certain animal force, which constitutes life, sensation, and memory, and which perishes with the body.

The above accounts of the Deity, given by the most spiritually—deistical of the *early* Greek philosophers, are, I am afraid, not very satisfactory. We may however, observe that the Deity (or more properly speaking, the primæval Matter or Principle) seems to have been gradually spiritualized, especially among the Ionic philosophers. The Principle of *Thales* was water, of *Anaximander*—a something between air and water, and of *Anaximenes*—air. *Diogenes* Apolloniates seems to have made air both a principle and a cause: for he attributed to it a divine reason. About the

¹ It must be dull work, to be eternally trundling a wheelbarrow; and perhaps hard work too, for an incorporeal being. See what *Velleius* says, ap. *Cicero*., de N. D., B. 1, ch. 13, § 33.

² According to our present system of theoretical astronomy, the planets, once set in motion, continue of themselves to revolve eternally; perhaps, therefore, the deity has not given some of them a fresh push for these 6000 years. Now it appears to me as easy to imagine that a solar, or systemical, mass of matter has been eternally endued with circular (or nearly circular) motion, as that it should be at rest. But, granting such an eternal motion, then the deity, as a mere prime-mover, becomes superfluous.

same time *Anaxagoras* separated the cause from the principle; and (whatever may have been the opinions of his pupil *Archeläus*) this theory of *Anaxagoras* has proved the successful one, having been adopted by *Socrates*, whose disciples have, to the present day, been almost always spiritualizing Mind, and depriving Matter of nearly all its attributes.

Let us now see what information on the subject of Deity we can receive from *later* Græcians; viz. from those who flourished after the subjugation of their country by the Romans.³

The author of the "*De Placitis Philosophorum*," inserted in *Plutarch's* works, has devoted a chapter to the question "what is God?"⁴ But he merely quotes the opinions of a few of the ancient philosophers, and seems, for his own part, to disapprove of them all: for he argues against the *Anaxagorean*⁵ and the *Platonic* Deity; and (like an *Epicurean*) says, that God would be

³ In matters of philosophy I consider the *Romans* as a part of the Greeks: for those Italian plunderers never invented any thing in metaphysics, all their information upon which they derived from their Hellenic subjects. *Varro*, and *Plinius* the elder, believed in the soul of the world, or in the divinity of the universe. *Cicero's* deity seems difficult to be ascertained. *Seneca* maintains that nature is God. *Apuleius* always speaks of the Deity magnificently, but perhaps indeterminately.

⁴ B. 1, section 7; Tom. 4, P. 2, (vol. 8,) p. 541, edit. Wyttenb. 8vo. Remark, that *Schedius* (de Diis, p. 299, 300), when shewing that most ancient philosophers believed the unity of the Deity, has given two or three short extracts from the genuine works of *Plutarchus*. The only extract involving a definition is from the *de fugá* (ch. 5): 'ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΩΝ, ΘΕΟΣ, ΑΡΧΗΝ ΤΕ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕΧΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ. *Brucker's* account of *Plutarch's* religious opinions I have already given, "*Life of Plutarchus*" p. 39-41, and in "*Wyttenbach's* prefatory note," p. 5. Let me here add, that, in the *de Iside* (p. 369, edit. Xyl.), *Plutarchus* appears to me a decided dualist. Λ.

⁵ In section 29 of B. 1, it is asserted, that, according to *Anaxagoras* and the *Stoics*, some events happen through Necessity, some through Fate, some through Chance, &c. *Meiners* (de vero Deo, p. 370-372) highly condemns the pseudonymous author for this assertion, and calls him an "insulsus nugator."

miserable, if, as a workman, he were obliged to labour at the arrangement of the universe.

Among the "Sententiæ" of a certain Pythagorean philosopher named *Sextus*, we may find:⁶ "Deus sapiens lux est non capax contrarii." "Deus sicut mens est quæ movetur. Sponte secundum hæc & subsistit."⁷ "Mali nullius autor est Deus." "Quæcunque Deus possidet hæc et sapiens." "Sapientis anima --- semper est cum Deo." "Quid sit Deus agnosce, et quid in te quod cognoscit Deum."

But *Sextus* also says: "De Deo etiam quæ vera sunt, loqui periculum est, et non parvum." "In multitudine dicere de Deo non audeas." "Nomen Dei ne quæras quia non invenies. Deus non nomen est Deo, sed indicium quod sentimus de Deo." "Multis verbis uti de Deo ignorantia Dei facit."

Apollonius Tyanæus (who was born about the time of the blessed Jesus) seems to have imagined that God is all things, or the unique, but variously-modified substance of all things.⁸

The opinion of the sophist *Secundus*⁹ (who lived in Hadrian's reign,) is delivered in very express words, tho' perhaps in such as are rather more poetical and incongruous, than well defined and co-inciding:

ΤΙ ΕΣΤΙ ΘΕΟΣ ?

ΙΔΙΟΠΛΑΣΤΟΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ , ΠΟΛΥΜΟΡΦΟΝ ΕΙΚΑΣΜΑ , ΑΣΥΝΑΠΤΟΝ ὙΨ-

⁶ in Gale's *Opuscula* (Cambridge, 1670, 1671) Tract the eleventh, pp. 12. *Sextus's* book of proverbs has been interpolated by a Christian (vid. *Fabric. Biblioth. Gr.* vol. 13, p. 645-647; and *Mosheim add. ad Cudworth.* vol. 2, p. 801); but the phrases which I give above are probably some of the genuine ones. Q. *Sextius* was a Roman, but wrote in Greek. He followed the strict morality of the Stoics; and rejected the patronage of Julius Cæsar. (vid. *Brucker*, vol. 2, p. 87).

⁷ These two first sentences I do not understand; and therefore leave them, and the others likewise, in the language in which I find them.

⁸ vid. *Brucker*, vol. 2, p. 154, and index, A.

⁹ vid. Gale's *Opuscula*, tract the 6th., p. 21; conf. p. 27, & 30; & the "Altercatio Hadriani & Epicteti", ap. *Fabric. Biblioth. Græc.* vol. 13, p. 557.

-ΩΜΑ , ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΑΚΤΟΝ ΜΟΡΦΩΜΑ , ΔΥΣΝΟΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΖΗΤΗΜΑ , ΑΘΑ-
 -ΝΑΤΟΣ ΝΟΥΣ , ΠΟΛΥΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΟΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ , ΑΚΟΙΜΗΤΟΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ ,
 ΙΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΣΙΑ , ΠΟΛΥΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ , ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΧΕΙΡ ,
 ΦΩΣ , ΝΟΥΣ , ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ .

Themistius, a friend of the emperor Julianus, supposed, that the Deity wishes to hide himself, and that this is a sufficient proof that he does not wish all men to be of the same religion, but leaves them to think about him as they may choose.¹⁰

And having said thus much of the Greeks, let us pass to the Barbarians.

Concerning *Yêhouh*, the Deity of the Hebrews, I have but few books to consult.¹

The word *Yah*, means "he who is," and the word *Yêhouh* means "the Being necessarily existing."² The word *Aleim*, often applied to *Yêhouh*, is interpreted by Parkhurst (Hebr. Lex. p. 18) "The denouncers of a conditional curse." I should rather, however, imagine, that the word is but a sort of plural of the Arabic *Allah*.³

At any rate *Aleim* is a plural word: for Parkhurst (p. 19) says: "Let those who, in these days of Arian, Socinian, and Rabbinical, blasphemy, have any doubt whether *Aleim*, when meaning the true God, *Jehovah*, is *plural*, or not, consult the following passages where they will find it joined with Adjectives, Pronouns, and Verbs *plural* ---." After giving references, Parkhurst adds: "O that the children of Abraham, according to the flesh, would attentively consider and compare the texts above cited from their

¹⁰ ✕
¹ I have indeed slightly perused a work, entitled "The God of the Jews, or *Jehovah* Unveiled." Lond.⁷²⁹ 1819, 8vo.; but this pamphlet is rather a critique upon the History of the Jews, than an account of the Deity whom they worshipped. It may easily be imagined that I have never seen the book of Hieronymus Zanchius "de tribus Elohim, æterno patre, filio, et spiritu sancto, uno eodem que *jehovâ*." Frankf. 1572.

² vid. Parkhurst's Hebr. Lex. p. 157, & 155; et conf. Wollaston's "Religion of Nature," p. 119, 120, note (g).

³ vid. Court de Gêbelin, (in his explanation of Sanchoniathon) Monde Primitif, tom. 1, p. 23.

✕¹⁰ vid. Brucker, vol. 2, p. 490; Λ.

own scriptures! Could they then help owning a *Plurality* of Aleim in Jehovah? When they read for instance, Gen. 1, 26, that the Aleim said "Let *us*, (or *we* will) make man in *our* image, according to *our* likeness—;" and compared these words with Eccles. xii, 1: "Remember thy *Creators*," could they doubt whether Aleim, as applied by Moses in the history of the creation, denoted a *Plurality* of Agents? Thus Parkhurst.

But I wish the learned would rather enquire, whether these Creative *Aleim* were merely Hebrew Deities. Volney (New Researches, p. 94,) says: "These Elahim were the *decans* of the Egyptians, the Genii of the months and planets among the Persians and Chaldeans, God-Genii mentioned under their own name by the Phœnician author Sanchoniathon, where he says: 'The companions of *Il* or *El*, who is Kronos (Saturn), were called *Eloim* or *Kronians*, and were said to be the equals of Kronos' (vid. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1, p. 37)." Thus Volney, whose opinion, however, must be rejected, if not orthodox.

Yéhouh, considered as merely one of those beings generically called *Aleim*, appears to have been only a national, or hereditary, Deity: for Jephthah, one of the Presidents of the Hebrew Republic, said to the King of the Ammonites (vid. Judg. xi, 24): "Shalt thou not possess that which *Chemôsh*, thy Aleim, hath made thee to possess? And shall we not possess, all that, which *Yéhouh*, our Aleim, hath made us to possess (or hath driven out) from before us?"⁴

The Deity of the Hebrews was evidently considered, by the Polytheists, to be the divine power of the material heavens.⁵

Thus *Juvenalis* (Sat. 14, v. 96) says:

Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
Nil præter Nubes et Cœli Numen adorant.

¶

⁴ Concerning this extraordinary passage, see Voltaire, "Dieu et les Hommes" ch. 16, (Œuvr. Tom. 30, p. 65,) and Rousseau, "Contrat Social," B. 4, ch. 8.

⁵ Schedius (de diis, p. 152) says, that the word *Shemim* is often used by the Hebrews to denote the Deity; as the word *Ouranos* is used in Matthew's gospel (ch. 21, v. 25); and in Luke's (ch. 15, v. 18). Various other references, establishing this important fact, are given by Parkhurst, Lexicon, p. 342, b; & 746, a.

And *Diodorus Siculus*⁶ says of Moses:

ΑΓΑΛΜΑ ΔΕ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΟ ΣΥΝΟΛΟΝ ΟΥ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕ , ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΜΟΡΦΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ : ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ 'ΟΛΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ .”

And *Strabo* (B. 16, ch. 2) also says of Moses :

-- ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ 'ΩΣ ΟΥΚ ΟΡΘΩΣ ΦΡΟΝΟΙΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙ ΘΗΡΙΟΙΣ ΕΙ-ΚΑΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΣΚΗΜΑΣΙ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ , ΟΥΔ 'ΟΙ ΛΙΒΥΕΣ : ΟΥΚ ΕΥ ΔΕ ΟΥΔ 'ΟΙ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ , ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΜΟΡΦΟΥΣ ΤΥΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ : ΕΙΗ ΓΑΡ 'ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΘΕΟΣ , ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝ 'ΗΜΑΣ 'ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ , 'Ο ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΦΥΣΙΝ . ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΗ ΤΙΣ ΑΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΠΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΘΑΡΡΗΣΕΙ , ΝΟΥΝ ΕΧΩΝ 'ΟΜΟΙΑΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡ 'ΗΜΙΝ ? ΑΛΛ ΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΖΟΑΝΟΛΟΙΊΑΝ , ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΦΟΡΙCΑΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ CΗΚΟΝ ΑΖΙΟΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΙΜΑΙΝ , ΕΙΔΟΥC ΧΩΡΙC .

Albeit *Lucanus* (*Pharsal*. B. 2, v. 593) says :

“---- dedita sacris

Incerti⁷ Judæa Dei ---- .”

Tacitus (*Histor.*, B. 5, ch. 5,) says : “Judæi mente solâ, unum que numen intelligunt : --- summum illud, et æternum, neque mutabile, neque interitum.” So also Dio (*vid. not. ad Minut. Felic.* p. 94) says : ΤΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΤΙΜΩCΙΝ , 'ΕΝΑ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΑ ΙCΧΥΡΩC CΕΒΟΥCΙ : ΟΥΔ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙC ΠΟΤΕ ΤΟΙC 'ΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΟΙC ΕCΧΟΝ : ΑΡΡΗΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΔΗ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕC ΕΙΝΑΙ , ΠΕΡΙCCΟΤΑΤΑ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΘΗCΚΕΥΟΥCΙ . These

⁶ B. 40, fragment : p. 922. Diodorus also gives an account of the Jewish religion in a fragment of the 34th. book, p. 901, where he says, that the Hebrews were driven out of Egypt “as impious [men] and hated by the gods.” So Tacitus (*Histor.* B. 5, ch. 3) says of the Jews, that, according to many authors, a king of Egypt was ordered by the oracle of Hammon, “id genus hominum, ut invisum Deis, alias in terras avehere.”

⁷ Concerning the worship of unknown Gods, see Lardner (*Works*, vol. 4, p. 171,-176, 4to); & J. G. Voss. (*de Idol.* B. 1, p. 14). Λ.

two passages shew that the Jews had very much spiritualized their deity, but do not explain what that deity was.

Volney, in a note to his "Ruins of Empires," appears to say, that the God worshipped at the Egyptian Thebes was similarly unrepresentable. He seems to refer to the following passage in Plutarchus (de Isid. et Osir. ch. 21; p. 359, edit. Xyl.):

ΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΑΣ ΓΡΑΦΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΜΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΖΩΩΝ, ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΟΥΣ
 CΥΝΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΑ ΤΕΛΕΙΝ; ΜΟΝΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΗΒΑΪΔΑΣ
 ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΑΣ, ὥς ἔνῃτον θεόν οὐδ' ἐνα νομίζοντάς, ἀλλὰ
 ὄν καλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ κνήφ, ἀγεννητόν ὄντα καὶ ἀθάνατον."

But all the critics seem agreed that the word γραφας is faulty, and that we ought to read τροφας or ταφας. And it is notorious, that this Theban Deity, Knêph, or the Agatho-dæmon, was represented, either under a human, or more probably a serpentine form.⁸ I think, therefore, that Count Volney, if he refers to the above passage of Plutarchus concerning Cneph, is wrong to say:—
 —"voilà le dieu que Moïse, élevé à Héliopolis, adopta par préférence, mais qu'il n'inventa point."

But (unless orthodoxy forbids us) may we not believe, that Moses really did invent this heavenly Deity? I think I have read, that some Chinese philosopher invented a very similar but more

⁸ Meiners (de vero Deo, p. 35, note) not only reads ταφας for γραφας; but even says that Plutarchus was wrong to dissent from Herodotus, who mentions (B. 2, ch. 74) that the Thebans buried their sacred serpents in the temple of Jupiter. De Brosses, in his "Dieux Fétiches" (p. 87, & p. 80, edit. 1760), quoting this passage, also reads γραφας, which I suppose therefore is the reading of Amyot. The brazen (or copper) Serpent which saved the Hebrews (vid. Numbers, ch. 21, v. 9) is, I think, the only emblem common to both Yéhouh and Knêph. Jablonski (Panth. Ægypt. p. 84, note) justifies the reading of ταφας, by shewing that this word ought to be read instead of τροφας, in a similar passage of Diodor. Sic. (B. 1, p. 76, edit. Wechel). Jablonski (p. 85) bids us recollect, that, not only the serpent, but also the crocodile, the eagle, and the ram, were held sacred by the Thebans. He supposes (p. 94-98) that the anthropomorphous egg-vomiting deity, mentioned by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. B. 3, ch. xi, p. 115), was not Cnêph (Cnouph, or Ichanouphi, the "good spirit") but Camêphi (the "guardian of Egypt") here meaning Vulcan.

perfect being, doubtless in order to reclaim the people from a gross material idololatry. Perhaps, however, Moses may only have preserved, or restored, the very ancient idea, that the Gods were not anthropomorphous. Thus the *Persians*, even in the time of Herodotus (vid. B. 1, ch. 131), considered that the Gods were not of human shape, and that the supreme deity was the entire circle of the heavens. Thus also the ancient *Greeks* are said to have worshipped the Gods without any visible representation, till the time of Cecrops; and according to Plutarchus (Op. vol. 1, p. 65, Nyl.) the *Romans*, for the first hundred and sixty years after Numa, had no statues in their temples. Moreover, Lucianus (de Syriâ Deâ, ch. 3) says: "In the most ancient times the temples even of the Egyptians were without statues"; but Dr. Potter (Antiq. vol. 1, p. 225) seems to think Lucianus is perhaps mistaken.

It is probable that Arnobius (adv. Gentes, B. 3, ch. 12, edit. Orell.) is wrong⁹ in saying that the *Sadducees* attributed forms (or corporeity) to God.

Philo Judæus seems to have believed that Matter is coeval with God. (vid. Brucker, Hist. Phil., vol. 2, p. 804).

According to most of the *Rabbi*, God cannot be defined. He is only to be known by his attributes and names, which coincide with his essence. His essence is absolutely perfect, and entirely spiritual. (vid. Brucker, vol. 2, p. 874, 875, 877).

According to the Rabbi David *Nicto* (as quoted in the Dict. des Ath., p. 307), God and Nature, Nature and God, are one.

The *Cabbalists*, who denied the existence of Matter, conceived that the Divine essence could be divided. The Cabbalists called the Deity a fountain of infinite light, and a hidden and inexhaustible sea. They imagined that certain Sephiroth, or emanations from the latent deity, produced and govern all things. (vid. Brucker, vol. 2, pp. 980, 996, 1015, & 1031).

Mahommed is (however falsely) reported¹⁰ to have said, that God is a round¹ body, and extremely cold.

⁹ vid. Brucker, vol. 2, p. 724.

¹⁰ vid. Histoire de la religion des Turcs, par Michel Baudier, 1641, quoted in the Dict. des Ath., p. 260.

¹ Euthymius Zigabenus, in his "Dogmatic Panoply," also says that the Mohammedan Deity is spherical; but Reland (de relig. Mohamm. p. 106) seems to reject this assertion, when maintaining

Okail, or *Lebid*, the poet of Mahommed, said :² "All that is not God is nothing : for God is all things."

According to the *orthodox* Mahommedan theologians,³ God is the name of the necessarily existing essence. He is uniform, eternal, the first and last, the interior and exterior. He is not a corporeal form, nor a circumscribed substance, nor a defined measure.

Certain *Mahommedan* theologians, mentioned by Maimonides, (vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 56) were unwilling to call God the first cause : for, if God, as the necessary cause, has existed from eternity, therefore (according to them) the thing caused, or effected, viz : the world, must also have existed from eternity.

A *Mahommedan* sect, apparently that entitled the *Zendikæi*, maintained (vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 138) that there was no God but the four elements ; and that the soul was not spiritual or immortal, but a compound of the four elements.

The *Soofis* of Persia believe, that God, or the eternal immutable Being, draws out from his own substance, not only (human) souls, but whatever is corporeal and material in the universe. Creation therefore is only an extraction, production, or extension, of the divine substance, drawn, like a spider's web out of the en-

that Mohammed's Deity is incorporeal. But the God of Xenophanes was spherical (vid. pseud.-Origen. ap. Brucker, vol. 1, p. 1151) and yet was perhaps incorporeal. Moreover some of the Stoics (ex. gr., vid. Manil. astron. B. 1, v. 204) attributed a spherical form to the Deity. It seems a very general and reasonable idea. Nevertheless some religionists have adopted what an Arian called "a triangular superstition." (see the treatise upon St. Matthew, quoted in Lardner's works, vol. 3, p. 63). Albeit Vieira, a Portuguese preacher, has said (vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 502) "if the Almighty should happen to appear in a geometrical form, it would surely be the circular, in preference to the triangular, the square, or the pentagonal." This reminds one of the famous definition, that God is a circle, whose centre is every where and circumference no where. God had already been said to be "every where and no where" by *Philo* Judæus, whose deity appears to have been "celestial space." (vid. Mosheim, note to Cudworth's Intell. Syst. vol. 2, p. 364).

² vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 311.

³ vid. Algazel. ap. Pocock, quoted by Brucker, vol. 3, p. 158 ; conf. Reland. de relig. Mahomm. p. 8—13, edit. 1705.

-trails of the Deity. These theologians compare the Deity to a vast ocean, in which swim innumerable phials full of water, so that the water, if the bottles are broken, return again to the ocean from which they were taken.⁴

The *Brahmins*, when asked to shew God, trace a circle, as if they said, God is (but) the great circle of Nature (see the *Voyages de Dillon*, as referred to in the *Dict. des Ath.* p. 162, 163). It appears too that they describe a triangle in this circle (vid. *Dict. des Ath.* p. 323). They believe God to be the father, and mother, of men and of all things. Albeit if I may judge from the only original work which I possess upon the subject of Brahminism,⁵ the Deity recommended by the Indian *Vedas*, (notwithstanding some too literal expressions about *Light, Void Space*, &c.) is nevertheless very similar to our own modern Jehovah. For, according to the Ved: "He from whom the universal world proceeds, who is the Lord of the Universe, and he whose work is the universe, is the Supreme Being." But I suppose the Brahmins cannot define (or give a positive account of) their Deity; for, according to the Veds: "The Supreme Being is not comprehensible by vision, or by any other of the organs of sense; nor can he be conceived by means of devotion or virtuous practices." "He sees every thing, though never seen; hears every thing, though never directly heard of. He is neither short, nor is he long; inaccessible to the reasoning faculty; nor to be compassed by description; beyond the limits of the explanation of the Ved, or of human conception."⁶ Λ

The Deity of the *more ancient Chinese* seems to answer almost

⁴ vid. Brucker (vol. 5, p. 803, 809), who considers this system as neither Spinozistical, nor Stoical, but rather Cabbalistical, and Zoroastrian. The *l'Esprit de l'Encyl.* (art. "Asiatiques" by Diderot) says of the doctrine of the Soofis: "Ils ne vous paieront, dis-je, que de ces sortes de comparaisons, qui n'ont aucun rapport avec Dieu, et qui ne sont bonnes que pour jeter de la poudre aux yeux d'un peuple ignorant."

⁵ A short tract drawn up by *Rommohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1816, 4to. pp. 14.

⁶ I am afraid an infidel would say: "This negative language is wonderfully sublime; but all that it means is, that *nothing is not anything*,—a truism which metaphysicians should abandon to etymologists." Such might be the argument of an infidel. For my part, I, of course, protest against it.

exactly to the Zeus, or Jupiter, of the Stoics (vid. Brucker, vol. 5, p. 888, 889; & conf. p. 897, 898). He is the soul inhabiting the whole world, but more especially the heavens. The soul of man emanates from this universal soul, and reverts to it.

According to *later Chinese* philosophers, (or to those who flourished between the 12th. and the 15th. centuries after Christ,) there has existed from all eternity, a cause of all things, called *Li*, which is an incorruptible and infinite being (vid. Brucker, vol. 5, p. 890, 891). This universal cause has neither life, nor intelligence, nor authority, nor body, nor figure; and, tho it is not spiritual, yet, as if spiritual, it can only be comprehended by the intellect.⁷

I cannot discover any very accurate account of the Deity mentioned in that highly to be revered volume of mysterious tracts, entitled "the New Testament." The *three* first gospels contain the miraculous life and death of a certain "Galilæan peasant," who was rather an enemy to hypocrisy than a theologian. In the *fourth* gospel, we meet with a personified Logos, whose doctrine may, to our limited faculties, appear vague. The Acts, or Adventures, of some of the apostles (principally of the blessed Paul of Tarsus) are as interesting as they are true; but this book is in general more narrational than didactic. The *Letters*, written by the above mentioned holy Paul, say but little of the Deity: for they chiefly turn upon dissensions with the Jews, and upon money-matters. Similarly the other apostolic *circulars* appear (humanly speaking) to be mere pastoral charges; and are, moreover, unencumbered with those matters of fact, which are useless except to historians. The Apocalypse, with which the whole concludes, is very sublime and brilliant, being full of dragons, thrones, trumpets, fire, and brimstone; but it contains very little abstract theology.

And indeed no orthodox believer will expect positive metaphysical information from the New Testament, or from any other of the writings of our ancient Christian sages. *Yésus* preached, in general, only a calm morality, combined with a species of inde-

⁷ I confess that my intellect does not comprehend it; and indeed the whole of Brucker's account of the Chinese Philosophy is so entirely above my comprehension, that I have not the courage to investigate any further concerning the doctrines, either of the Chinese, or of the Japanese, or of any other of the ultra-orientals.

-terminate, or at most only Pharisaical, Theism. *The Christians* were entirely different people. Animated with a furious zeal against idololatri (to which Yêsûs does not allude) these iconoclasts seem to have maintained few positive metaphysical dogmata, till they wanted excuses for plundering from one another the plunder of paganism.

It is difficult therefore to give any account of the Christian Theology.* Our god is ~~on~~ doubt the true god; but, when we are asked what this true god is, we either launch into negative epithets, or else are altogether at a stand-still. Is the Christian deity merely a poetical personification, or a hyper-philosophical ultra-abstraction?—God is a spirit; and modern Christians tell us that, by the word spirit, they mean something absolutely immaterial. But, as this definition would lead us to a vacuum; and, as a vacuum, or Nothing, cannot be possessed of positive attributes, let us see whether we cannot find out some less negative idea of supreme power.

Were our deity an amalgamation, or rather a quintessence, of all former Deities, infidels might deduce him from three grand sources—1st. the national deity of the ancient Jews, who seems to have been of a rather material nature and the unique cause both of good and evil;—2ndly. the Persian deity, namely the good Principle who is always opposed to the evil Principle;—and 3rdly. the deity of the fathers of the church, who seems to have been taken, partly from the Platonists, and partly from the Stoics. We speak as magnificently of our present deity, as the Stoics did of their soul of the world; and we consider the indivisible as tripartite, probably following some Platonic theogonist. The Devil we have gradually thrown aside, since the time of the great Balthazar Bekker.⁸ The Angels seem abandoned to the painters. Finally, all positive epithets concerning the Deity himself are discouraged; and no persons are considered orthodox, except those

⁸ Those learned men—Johann Wier, in 1564, & 1577,—and Reynolde Scott, in 1584, had already combated demonology; to say nothing of Petrus Pomponatius, who must have written his “de incantationibus” about 1520. There is mention in Brucker (vol. 5, p. 716) of an anti-demoniacal work written, in english, by Orchard, in 1676, and which was translated into dutch, in 1697, by William Scuell. Antonius van Dale attacked the ancient demons in 1683. Benjamin de Dailon, in 1687, acknowledged only one devil. (vid. Mosh. in Cudw. Syst. Int. p. 159, b.). Bekker, writing in 1691 &c.,

who speak "piously and soberly" (i. e. verbosely and negatively) concerning that excessive power, which made the universe out of nothing, and whose peculiar providence has eternally governed every particle of matter, in every planet and system, world without end.

But before speaking of the Christian orthodoxy of the present day, I should have done well to give an account of the Deity as represented to us by the *uncient* Christians.⁹ I am afraid however that almost all their accounts of the deity are rather of a negative kind.

Thus: St. *Basilus* (in his comment. upon Psalm. 115¹⁰) says: ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΕΙ ΦΗCΙΝ, 'ΟΤΙ ΕCΤΙ ΘΕΟC, ΟΥΧΙ ΖΗΤΗCΑΙ, ΟΥΔΕ ΖΥΓΟΜΑΧΗCΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΙ ΕCΤΙ.¹ And *Isidorus Pelusiota* says: ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΧΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΙCΤΕΥΕΙΝ, 'ΟΤΙ ΕCΤΙ ΘΕΟC, ΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΙ ΕCΤΙ ΛΟ-ΛΥΓΡΑΡΜΟΝΕΙΝ. [conf. Al. Morus, ap. Bayle, Dict. vol. 4, p. 636].

chained the devil in tartarus. More information upon this important subject may no doubt be found in the "History of the Devil," by Daniel *Defoe*, 1726, ; and in the "Historia Diaboli" by Joh. Godfr. *Mayer*, in 1777, 4to; & 1781, 8vo. One of the latest of the diabolical writers seems to be G. H. *Leycester*, a barrister; who wrote, on "the Moral and Religious Use of a Devil" 1797, 8vo; and "On the Political and Moral uses of an Evil Spirit" 1799, 8vo. Be it recollected, moreover, that one Sarah *Flaxmer* has written: "Satan Revealed; with --- a testimony that Richard Brothers is a Prophet sent from the Lord."

⁹ It is useless to speak about the various Gnostical sects, who seem to have agreed in believing that all things are emanations from a latent deity (vid. Brucker, vol. 2, p. 645-650). The doctrine of the Valentinians is shewn by the engraving, opposite p. 1, of Massuet's *Irenæus*. I do not think that Gnosticism can ever have been adopted by the vulgar. Tertullianus has shewn how easily it could be ridiculed. And what priests could have found it their interest to support a vague doctrine, capable of infinite diversifications? The belief in a latent god seems a pledge of toleration.

¹⁰ I take this and the following quotation from the note of Elmenhorstius upon Minutius Felix, p. 143, (edit. 1672). A host of other quotations are here given; but I doubt whether there is among them the verse from Philemon (ap. Stob.) quoted by Wyttenbach in his "Prefatory note," supra, p. 11.

¹ The *early* Christians had an advantage over the *modern* ones, because they could retort upon their adversaries. "Pagani - - dicunt

But how difficult it is to build up one theology when pulling down another! *Minutius Felix* must have forgotten that he was an advocate for Christianity, when he said to the Pagans (p. 222): "Unusquisque vestrum non cogitat, prius se debere Deum nosse quam colere."

And a few of the Fathers (unfortunately not always the most orthodox) have attempted to give us some account of the Being whom we adore. Thus—

Tatianus, a Syrian Sophist who became the disciple of Justinus, has manifestly adopted the emanative system:

ΘΕΟΣ , 'Ο ΚΑΘ 'ΗΜΑΣ , ΟΥΚ ΕΧΕΙ ΣΥΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΕΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΙ , ΜΟΝΟΣ ΑΝΑΡΧΟΣ ΩΝ , ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ 'ΥΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΩΝ 'ΟΛΩΝ ΑΡΧΗ . ΠΝΕΥΜΑ 'Ο ΘΕΟΣ , ΟΥ ΔΙΗΚΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ 'ΥΛΗΣ , ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΔΕ 'ΥΛΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗΙ ΣΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΤΗΣ ΔΟΡΑΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΦΗΣ , ΔΙΣΘΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΡΑΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΩΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ . --- ΠΝΕΥΜΑ , ΤΟ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ 'ΥΛΗΣ ΔΙΗΚΟΝ , ΕΛΑΤΤΟΝ 'ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΤΕΡΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ . ² --- ΘΕΟΣ ΗΝ ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ; ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΞΡΧΗΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΠΑΡΕΙ ΗΦΑΜΕΝ . 'Ο ΓΑΡ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ 'ΟΛΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ 'ΥΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ 'Η 'ΥΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΣ , ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΔΕΛΩ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΗΝ ΛΟΙΠΙΝ ΜΟΝΟΣ ΗΝ , ΚΑΘ 'Ο ΔΕ ΠΑΣΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ , 'ΟΡΑΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΡΑΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ 'ΥΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΗΝ . ΣΥΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ; ΣΥΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΑ ΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ , ΑΥΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ 'Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ 'ΟΣ ΗΝ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ 'ΥΠΕΣΤΗΣΕ . ΘΕΛΗΜΑΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ 'ΑΠΛΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΠΗΔΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ . ---

-- ubi est Deus tuus? Ipsi dicant, ubi sunt Dii eorum --." Thus *Augustinus*, quoted in a note to *Minucius Felix*, p. 102, (conf. note to pp. 94, 95). There is here also a quotation from *Arnobius*, in which, an awkward question about the peculiar benevolence of the Christian deity is replied to by "Requirimus et nos contra, cur et vos, &c. &c." When arguing with atheists we must be more accurate. But the above subterfuge was useful in the days of polytheism. It might even serve as a first step towards converting a Jew into a trinitarian. see the dialogue inserted in *Fabric. Bibl. Gr.* vol. 8, p. 384, 385.

² The inferiority, of this spirit which penetrates Matter, is, I think, very heterodox; but it is evidently a constituent part of the doctrine of emanations (vid. *Brucker*, vol. 3, p. 386; & the axiom, in vol. 2, p. 648).

The meaning of the principal parts of this most important passage may be thus expressed³: "God, an incomprehensible spirit, does not insinuate himself into matter; but is, in matter, an invisible and intangible fabricator of material spirits and forms. As being the substance (hypostasis) of all things, he was alone before the formation of the world; but, as regards his power, he is the substance of all things visible and invisible, in whom they subsist; and all things were with him." The author proceeds to say, that the "Logos leapt forth," and constructed the universe by the division of matter.

*Athenagoras*⁴ says: ΠΑΝΤΑ Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΙ, ΦΩΣ ΑΠΡΟΟΙΤΟΝ, ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ, ΠΝΕΥΜΑ, ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ, ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Tertullianus by no means believed in the immateriality of the Deity or of any other spirit, for he says:⁵ "Quis enim negavit (or negabit) Deum corpus esse, etsi Deus spiritus est? Spiritus enim, corpus sui generis in suâ effigie."⁶ This father of the church nevertheless believed that plants are endued with a sort of soul: for he says (de animâ, ch. 19): "Siquidem et illis necdum arbusculis, sed stipitibus adhuc, et surculis etiam nunc simul de scrobibus oriuntur, inest propria vis animæ."⁷

³ I follow, as much as possible, the expressions of Brucker, vol. 3, p. 380-382.

⁴ apolog. p. 15; ap. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 403, art. 3.

⁵ adversus Praxean, ch. 7. The *Système de la Nature*, after alluding to this passage, adds (tom. 3, p. 229, note): "*Sérapion* disait en pleurant, qu'on lui avait ôté son Dieu en lui faisant adopter l'opinion de la spiritualité, qui cependant n'était pas aussi subtilisée pour lors qu'elle l'a été depuis. - - La spiritualité est devenue le dernier retranchement de la théologie, qui est parvenue à faire un Dieu plus qu'aérien, dans l'espérance, sans doute, qu'un pareil Dieu serait inattaquable; il l'est en effet, vu que l'attaquer, c'est combattre une pure chimère."

⁶ Moreover he attributes extension to God, describing him as the Being "in quo omnis locus, non ipse in loco." advers. Praxean, ch. 16; conf. Mosheim in Cudworth., vol. 2, p. 365.

⁷ Tertullianus, when writing this, must have forgotten the abnegation which he elsewhere makes of superfluous doctrines (de præscriptionibus, ch. 7) "Quid Athenis et Ierosolymis? - - Viderint qui Stoicum - - Christianis prætulerunt. - - Quum credimus, nihil desideramus ultra credere."

St. Clemens Alexandrinus is rather a philosopher than a theologian.⁸ He is constantly adopting the sentiments of the Platonists and the Stoics. Thus, like Plato, he grants⁹ that—the world was generated by God, almost as a son is generated by his father,—and that there are two worlds the sensible and the intelligible. Moreover, he tells us, that the Stoical God (who, he says, is both corporeal and spiritual) is the God of the Scriptures (strom. B. 5, p. 699). Yet just before (p. 695), he insists upon the difficulty of giving any account of God. "How can he be spoken of, who is neither a genus, nor a difference, nor a form, nor an atom, nor a number, nor any thing actively or passively contingent? — He has neither dimension, nor end, nor figure. And he cannot be named: if we call him the one, or the good, or Mind, or the existing Being, or Father, or God, or Demiurgus, or Lord, we only use these fine names, out of a want of better, that the mind may rest on them. For no one of these names by itself denotes the Deity; but taken together they indicate the power of the almighty." After this magnificent but somewhat negative description, *Clemens* quotes the saying of Paulus Tarsensis (Acts xvii, 22, 23) that he thought the Athenians too superstitious, and that he came to preach to them the "Unknown God."

According to that most learned christian *Origenes*,¹⁰ the creative power was not entirely able to overcome the obstinacy of matter. A very subtle body may be attributed to the deity. God, and his persons, as also angels, and man, are, as regards the soul, of one and the same substance. God occasionally produces Matter out of himself.

Lactantius seems to believe,¹ that God has figure and form,² and that he is the force or rather the wisdom of nature.³ He considers the Virgilian God as nearly the same as ours (p. 11, conf. p. 430); and speaks of the discursiveness of the divine Mind (p. 488) in a manner worthy of a Stoic (vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p.

⁸ vid. Dupin, quoted in Blount's *Censura*, p. 126.

⁹ strom. B. 5, p. 701, 702, edit. Potter; and in Brucker, vol. 3, p. 426. A.

¹⁰ vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 443, 444, 445, 457.

¹ In his book to prove God's anger, ch. 2, & 18.

² vid. *deprehensa* in *Lactantio*, ad fin. edit. 1685, p. 509.

³ vid. p. 12, & 429; conf. Ainsworth's *Dict.* at the word "Natura."

467, 468). He even argues atheistically: for he asks (p. 486), what is the use of the spleen?—But I must say no more about *Lactantius*: he forgets to mention the Trinity⁴; and is therefore scarcely worthy to be a Father of our holy Church.

Synesius, in his hymns,⁵ speaks of the deity in a style most scandalously Gnostical, Valentiniacal, or Cabbalistical: "Thou art a father and a mother, a male and a female;⁶ thou art voice and silence; thou art the fruitful nature of nature." - - - "Thou art the father of all fathers; and, being without a father, thou art thine own father and son." - - "O source of sources, principle of principles, root of roots, thou art the unity of unities, the number of numbers, being both unity and number." - - "Thou art one and all things, one of all things, and one before all things." Thus *Synesius*, whose language is wonderfully unintelligible, and nevertheless we now consider it heterodox.

These latter paragraphs may be considered as involving definitions; but the quotations I am now about to add (though also from Fathers of the church) are, I am afraid, mere confessions of ignorance.

Minutius Felix (p. 155, edit. Ouzel.) after saying that the Christians almost as the Deity almost as Plato did; adds that, like the Athenian sage, they avoided speaking of the Deity except when asked.⁷

Arnobius, a Christian writer, (but who sometimes argues with the Platonists, and sometimes even with the Sceptics,) says to the Deity:⁸ " - - - O unseen, and incomprehensible, - - - thou art - - the place⁹ and space - - - and foundation of all things; - - - with-

⁴ vid. Walch. Bibliotheca Patristica, p. 542.

⁵ vid Brucker, vol. 3, p. 516, 517; & Massuet's preface to Irenæus, p. xxxii; conf. Beausobre, Manich. tom. 1, p. 584.

⁶ I wish some one would compile a tract "DE DIIS, hermaphroditis, eunuchis, et præter naturam natis."

⁷ Souverain, in his "Platonisme dévoilé," p. 63, after quoting this passage, says that it was impossible to explain to the people [the orthodox idea of the Deity], "parcequ'il étoit dangereux."

⁸ adv. gentes, B. 1, ch. 31-33, edit. Orell.; conf. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 464.

⁹ I abridge the following note from Orellius. God is called "the

-out quality, quantity, position, or motion; - - - of whom nothing can be said and expressed in the signification of mortal words; to understand whom, we must be silent; and to obtain a vague and obscure glimpse of whom, we must not utter a syllable. Oh supreme king! - - - it is no wonder if thou art *not* known, it would rather be wonderful if thou *wert* known." Thus Arnobius, who appears to add, that it is dangerous to attempt proving the existence of the Deity. He then asks, whether the idea of God is not innate; and whether, if trees, clods, &c. could speak, they would not proclaim a Lord of all things.

According to St. *Cyrrillus* of Jerusalem, God is not circumscribed by any place, nor is he less than heaven. - - - He is in all things, and without all things (v. 48, edit. Milles). Elsewhere (p. 78) *Cyrrillus* says: "We say concerning God, not what is right - - -, but what the weakness of human nature can bear. For we do not explain what God is; but we confess with candour that we have no accurate knowledge of him: for, in what regards the Deity, it is a great knowledge to confess one's ignorance. - - - But it will be said: 'if the divine essence is incomprehensible, why talkest thou of these things?' (p. 80). - - - Let no man be ashamed to confess his ignorance (p. 81). - - - It is enough for our piety to know that we have a God, an unique Deity, who - - - is all eye, all ear, and all mind¹⁰ (p. 82). - - - Many have attempted to give a description of the Deity, but all have failed. Some have thought the Deity to be a fire; others consider him to be winged; - - - others have dared to say he has seven eyes (conf. Zachar. iv, 10) - - - But the Deity is not bounded by a place; but, as a maker of places, is in all, and is circumscribed by none (p. 83). - - - He is an eternal light, uninterruptedly shining, an unconquerable force, accommodating itself to our weaknesses - - -." *Cyrrillus* ter-

place of all things," by the Peripatetics, who are refuted by Sextus Empiric. adv. Mathem. B. 10. Here Fabricius says: the Jews sometimes call the Deity *Mcqudm*, or *place*, as in the book of Paschal rites edited by Rittangelius, and as Philo Judæus says when explaining Exodus, xxi, 13. So, among Christian writers, Theophilus (ad Autol. B. 2, p. 81) says θεός γὰρ οὐ χωρεῖται, ἀλλ' αὐτός ἐστι τὸνός τῶν ὁλῶν; and in a confession of the Greeks, edited by Normannus, God is called τὸνός αὐτός 'εαυτοῦ. But St. Augustinus rejects this appellation.

¹⁰ These words are probably taken from Irenæus, B. 1, ch. 6. Sir Isaac Newton uses the same language. Maréchal calls it spinosistical.

-minates this part of his subject with that best of all theological conclusions: "Oh the depth of the riches - -."

St. *Augustinus*¹¹ says: "God is a being whom we speak of, but whom we cannot describe; and who is superior to all definitions."

It is said, that, in the works of a demi-Platonician called *Dionysius the Areopagite*, we may read:¹² "God is all the beings, not merely one of the beings"; and also:¹ "we then best know God, when we know that we do not know him."

And thus much concerning the Fathers of the Church.² Let me now come to the Scholastics of the middle ages.

Johannes *Scotus* Eringenæ,³ apparently followed by *Almaricus* Carnotensis,⁴ adopted the opinion, that all things are God and God all things. Similarly *Davidus de Dinanto* (who was persecuted about A.D. 1209) maintained, that God is the primary matter, or that all things are one in Matter.⁵

St. *Anselmus* (who was elected archbishop of Canterbury in 1093) argues for the existence of the Deity from our innate idea of a supreme being.⁶

¹¹ As quoted by Formey (Espr. de l'Encycl. art. Dieu, vol. 5, p. 176). In the same page we read the famous answer made (according to Cicero) by Simonides to Hiero, and (according to Tertullianus) by Thales to Cræsus.

¹² vid. Dict. des Athées, p. 100.

¹ vid. Syst. de la Nature, tom. 3, p. 178, note; & (apparently) the Christianisme dévoilé, p. 92.

² Here perhaps I might mention the opinion of Severinus *Boethius*, that the Creator is extremely beautiful, and binds the elements with numbers (vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 525). But, altho Boethius was beheaded for Trinitarianism (A.D. 526), yet he was perhaps not so much of a Christian as a Stoic; and his above mentioned opinion seems to savour partly of Platonism and partly of Pythagorism.

³ vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 620. *Scotus* was still living in France, in A.D. 872.

⁴ vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 688; Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. vol. 3, p. 287.

⁵ vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 602; conf. Reimmann, Hist. Ath. p. 342, & Buddeus, de Ath. p. 77, 78.

⁶ vid. Brucker, vol. 3, p. 665. *Descartes* afterwards argued simi-

St. Thomas Aquinas argues,⁷ that, for men to obtain a certain and indubitable knowledge of God, it is necessary that they should be taught the divine attributes as articles of faith.

*Raymond Lulli*⁸ said: "God is not a part, but the whole."

Some scholastics, especially *Gregorius* of Rimini (a general of the Augustins who died in 1358), supposed that God could deceive (vid. Bayle, art. *Rimini*, note B.).

According to *Gabriel Biel* (a German scholastic who died in 1495), the proofs which reason can furnish for the existence of God are only probable.⁹

Let us now come to more *modern* metaphysicians and philosophers. To begin then with the *Italians*.

Marsilius Ficinus (who died in 1499) probably borrowed all his theology from the Alexandrine Platonists. At any rate, (whatever he may have thought of the remote gods) he appears to have believed, that the world is animated, and contains, moreover, a spirit which connects its soul and body (vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 53).

Petrus Pomponatius (an Aristotelician who died in 1525) seems to have denied the terrestrial power of demons or intelligencies; and to have said, that the vulgar alone refer to a god or demon the effects of which we do not perceive the causes (vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 172).

Franciscus Georgius Venetus (a franciscan and Cabbalo-Platonist, who was yet alive in 1536) is said to have maintained that God is very prolific.¹⁰

Bernardinus Telesius (who died in 1588) maintained, that there are three principles, two opposite and incorporeal, viz. heat and cold; and one corporeal, viz. matter.¹ I suppose therefore he imagined the Deity to be an excessive heat.

larly. The argument of *Jamblichus* is the same in words, but not in meaning. vid. Brucker, vol. 2, p. 432.

⁷ vid. Huet, "Foibl. de l'Espr. hum." L. 3, ch. 15, p. 278. *The Angelic Doctor* died in 1274.

⁸ vid. Colletet, quoted in the Dict. des Ath. p. 335. *The Enlightened Doctor* suffered martyrdom in 1315.

⁹ vid. Huet, "Foibl. de l'Espr. hum." p. 277.

¹⁰ vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 377; sed conf. art. 30, p. 380.

¹ vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 456, & 458. This doctrine scarcely seems

According to *Jordanus Brunus* (who was burnt to death in the year of grace 1600) God, a monad, the fountain of all numbers, is the monad of monads; and is the simplest essence, in which no composition can exist intrinsically.² (vid. Brucker, vol. 5, p. 42, 44, 48).

Vanini, in his *Amphitheatrum æternæ Providentiæ* p. 8, says: "Do you ask me, what God is? If I knew, I should be a God: for no one knows God; nor does any one know what he is, except God himself." Notwithstanding this discouraging information, *Vaninus*, at p. 10, says of the Deity: "he is all, [and] all things, above all things, beyond all things, within all things, beside all things, before all things, and after all things."³

Andreas Cæsalpinus (who died in 1603) maintained, that there is one common soul to all animated beings; and that there is only one intelligence, viz. God, which intelligence is the intelligence of all things, being as it were the measure of all things (vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 224, 225).

Thomas Campanella (who died in 1639) appears to have said: "The first substance, which is the basis of all [substances, but] does not exist in any thing subject, is the space which forms the substratum of the whole collection of bodies."⁴ In this sense God is improperly called a substance." *Campanella* imagined moreover

anti-christian; but, as it opposed that of *Aristoteles*, the monks gave *Telesius* some trouble in his old age; and, after his death, his "*de rerum naturâ*" (first printed in 1565) was put in the index.

² I hope the reader understands these phrases. To me they appear so obscure, that I am surprised *Giordano Bruno* was not revered as a great theologian, instead of being burnt, as an atheist, or (what is worse) as a heretic.

³ This sort of definition is rather rhetorical than logical. And it is certain, that some of *Vanini's* expressions (tho principally only those he had spoken) were not found orthodox: for he had his tongue torn out, and was then burnt alive, A.D. 1619.

⁴ I endeavour to translate this sentence literally from Brucker, vol. 5, p. 129, art. 24. *Campanella* defended the doctrine of *Telesius* against that of *Aristoteles*. Accused, about 1599, of treason and blasphemy, he was seven times tortured, and after being confined in various prisons for nearly twenty seven years, was dismissed as innocent of treason. He was a pious and orthodox catholic, and a firm believer in magic and judicial astrology.

that there are three "primalities" in the essence of the Deity, power, wisdom, and love (vid. Brucker, p. 143, 144; conf. p. 139, art. 42). The universe is animated: its rays and diffusive virtue are its hands, the stars and luminaries are its eyes (Brucker, art. 23, p. 138; conf. art. 19, p. 137, & art. 46, p. 139, & 140). Some animals are produced from heat and putridity (art. 72, p. 135, & art. 27, p. 138). Nothing is incorporeal (art. 24, p. 132). All things, even darkness and cold, are endued with sensation (art. 54, p. 140).

I must now pass to the *Germans*, &c.

Cornelius *Agrippa* (who died in 1539) relates, I suppose, rather the opinion of the Cabbalists than his own, when he says that—God, the first monad, before communicating himself to inferior beings, first diffuses himself into the principal number, viz. the number three. *Agrippa* afterwards says, that the world is animated, and has a soul and sense (vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 415, No. 47, & 48).

According to *Paracelsus* (who died in 1541), God is the circle and centre of all things produced from himself. It is from him that all things flow. He penetrates all things, and embraces all things (vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 682, art. 65).

According to that admirer of Paracelsus *J. B. van Helmont* (who died in 1644), God is the true, perfect, and entire essence of all things (vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 718).

Jacob Boehm, or *Boehmen*, (who died in 1624) says (vid. Brucker, vol. 4, p. 702, 703): "God is the essence of all essences. --- The Matter with which God made the world is his own essence. --- It cannot be said that death and hell exist in God, but it must be said that these things are derived from him." Some of *Boehmen's* doctrines seem also to imply that the soul is the essence of God.⁵

Spinoza (who died in 1677) considered, that there is only one substance,⁶ which, by its two modifications, thought and extension, is infinitely varied, and contains in itself the necessary causes of

⁵ It is the fashion to laugh at Jacob Boehmen. But are his doctrines more absurd than those of more refinedly educated ideologists?

⁶ This system evidently depends upon the meaning of the word "substance." (Brucker, vol. 5, p. 691). The unique substance of *Spinoza* answers to the *Or ha'ensoph* of the Cabbalists (id. p. 695).

its own mutation. Thus Brucker (vol. 5, p. 693), who hurries over *Spinoza's* doctrine with surprising rapidity.

Let us turn therefore to *Spinoza* himself. "God is [the] absolutely infinite Being; that is, [the] substance consisting of infinite attributes, of which each expresses an eternal and infinite essence" (oper. posth. p. 1; conf. p. 8, 184, 397, &c). This language I do not understand; but elsewhere *Spinoza* says, that God is incorporeal (p. 13); tho he is the "res extensa" (p. 42), and the "natura naturans" (p. 27). He is also the immanent, not the transient, cause (p. 449) of all things which have an essence (p. 512). God is without passions; he has neither joy nor sadness, neither love nor hate (p. 247). God is the "res cogitans" (p. 42), but does not know things abstractedly (p. 480).

Spinoza strongly opposes the doctrine of final causes: "for, says he, that eternal and infinite Being, which we call God or Nature,* acts, by the same necessity, by which it exists" (p. 162). And elsewhere (p. 36) *Spinoza* says: "I can easily shew that all final causes are but human fictions." - - - "Men go on enquiring after the causes of causes, 'till they fly for refuge to the will of God, which is the asylum of ignorance" (p. 37). - - - "Whoever seeks into the real causes of miracles, wishing to study nature wisely, not to admire it foolishly, is proclaimed heretical and impious, by those, whom the vulgar adore as the interpreters of nature and of the gods." But *Spinoza* here seems (what is rarely the case with him) to be wandering from his subject. Besides he is evidently a pantheist. Let us hasten to a more orthodox philosopher.

Godfr. Wilh. *Leibnitz* (an universal scholar, who died in 1716) has in general shewn himself a stanch Lutheran. Albeit, he has once ventured to say: "God alone is the primitive unity, or simple originary substance; from whom all created and derivative monads are produced, they being, as it were, born from the Divinity's continual fulgurations - - -." I cannot translate the remainder. But it is sufficiently evident, as indeed Brucker remarks (vol. 5, p. 413, 414), that this definition implies an emanative, or pantheistical, system, which surely *Leibnitz* was far from wishing to advocate. And indeed elsewhere, *Leibnitz* says, that creatures do not necessarily exist, nor derive their being from God's essence. According to *Leibnitz* (vid. Brucker, art. 7, p. 442), if space were an absolute being, it would be God. This metaphysician supposed (vid. Brucker, p. 410) that the existence of God could not be proved without admitting the doctrine of "sufficient reason." His

"præ-established harmony" has been thought by some (vid. Brucker, p. 497) to lead to fatalism.⁷

Christianus *Thomasius* (who died in 1728) says (No. 35, & 36):⁸ "God is in himself, and all creatures are in him; but beyond God is nothing. All things therefore derive their origin from God; and are together in God." Yet directly afterwards he says (No. 38): "All Creatures were made from nothing beyond God." But (No. 52), "God operates nothing beyond himself"; and (No. 53) "No creature is beyond God, and yet the essence of the creature differs from the essence of God." Elsewhere (No. 116) *Thomasius* says: "God is a being merely active, a pure act, a spirit, a most efficacious virtue, a light, a most subtle wind." Yet (at No. 105) he says: "The space in which all bodies are moved is a spirit, and the space in which all spirits are moved is God." At No. 115, *Thomasius* says (what he would have done well to have previously recollected): "Concerning the essence of God as being incomprehensible, men can only speak by similitudes." (vid. Brucker, vol. 5, p. 485-491).

According to the Prussian philosopher, Theod. Ludw. *Lau* (who died in 1740), "God is a simple matter, Man a modified matter; --- God is as fire, Man as a spark; --- God is as the sun, Man as a ray; &c." (vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 237).

According to Emmanuel *Swedenborg* (who died in 1772), God is anthropomorphous. A certain celestial and spiritual Sun is the first emanation from God. The warmth of this Sun is the divine love; its light is the divine wisdom. God formed creatures in order that he might love them. He took them out of his own substance. It is by the spiritual Sun that god created all things immediately, and from thence by the natural Sun; this being the instrument of the other. There are three heavens, besides a world

⁷ The monadology of *Leibnitz* (vid. Brucker, p. 404, & 417, 418), and even perhaps his optimism (vid. Brucker, p. 440), very much resemble part of the system of *Jordanus Brunus*; yet *Brunus* is execrated as an atheist, and *Leibnitz* is preached up as a "christian philosopher." But which is the more fortunate?—The system of *Bruno* has long been almost entirely forgotten; & that of *Leibnitz* has received a most unenviable immortality from the satirical pen of *Voltaire*.

⁸ These numbers refer to the articles of Brucker's abridgment from *Thomasius's* Confession of his doctrine, printed in 1695.

of spirits, and also a purgatory, and a hell. The Swedenborgians baptize "in the name of Jesus Christ, who is the father, son, and holy-ghost."⁹

Christopher *Meiners* (who died in 1810) wrote, in 1780, a treatise entitled "*Historia doctrinæ De Vero Deo omnium rerum auctore atque rectore.*" This most scanty definition (if definition it can be called) naturally excites the questions which I have given above (in Wyttenbach's Prefatory note," p. 7, notes 2, 3, & 4); not to mention that *Meiners* forgets those essential epithets "spiritual" and "immaterial," besides the host of attributive epithets, such as "all-good," "all-just," &c., &c.

And having said thus much concerning *Germanic* metaphysicians, let us now come to the *French*.

René Des Cartes (who died in 1650) argued for God's existence in a manner which even most theologians have considered as very unsatisfactory. He supposed that the idea of God was innate; and positively rejected the doctrine of final causes.¹⁰ I am not aware that he has given any precise definition of the eternal and omniscient creator whom he called God. Indeed he says, that we ought never to dispute about infinity, concerning which, we, being finite, can determine nothing (vid. *Brucker*, vol. 5, p. 298). *Des Cartes* invented the present system of spirituality: for, thò before him the soul was regarded as spiritual, yet this French philosopher was the first who established that "that which thinks ought to be distinguished from matter." (vid. *Syst. de la Nat.*, tom. 1, p. 182, note). I should imagine that the metaphysics of *Descartes* have only been so far useful to the world,

⁹ The Swedenborgians consider some books of the Bible as of less authority than others. They believe that "the New Jerusalem" exists in the centre of Africa; and consequently, they send missionaries into that quarter of the globe, and strongly oppose the slave trade. Swedenborg was a latin scholar, a mathematician, and especially a metallurgist. He was a frank in his manners and pure in his morals. (vid. *Biogr. Univ.* tom. 44, p. 249-258).

¹⁰ "De causis finalibus, quippe quæ nulli cognitæ sùnt, perpetuum esto in academiâ meâ silentium." (vid. *Mosheim. ad Cudworth.* vol. 2, p. 120, b.). Sir Francis *Bacon* only so far rejected the investigation of final causes, as they might interfere with the investigation of physical truth and might proceed from superstition (id. *ibid.* & p. 112, a.).

inasmuch as, they upset those of Aristoteles, and also insisted upon the importance of doubting before deciding.

Souverain, in his posthumous work the "Platonisme dévoilé" (Collogne, 1700, 12mo.), seems to give his own opinion of the Deity when saying (ch. 3, p. 34, 35): "God is a rich source, which has always sought to pour itself forth. This he has done,—either by insinuating himself into his whole work, which he has inspired with a soul and life, so that every part of the universe bears some mark or ray of his divinity;—or in pouring forth his extraordinary grace upon such of his intelligent creatures as he has chosen to be the interpreters of his will."

According to the abbé *Houteville*¹¹ (who died in 1742), God is not a body, after the manner of extended substances, but he has all the positive and real qualities of a body. He may even be considered to be all things.

Fontenelle said, that, if God made man in his own image, Man had amply returned the compliment. Yet *Fontenelle* also said,¹ that, if he had his hand full of truths, he would not open it for the vulgar.

In the "Despotisme Oriental" (1761, & 1766), a work founded on a sketch left by *Boulanger*, it is affirmed (according to the Dict. des Ath. p. 49) that "God is a hors d'œuvre."

Louis Racine, in a poem entitled "La Grâce" (1722, 12mo.),² says, when speaking of the Deity, "the clouds are the powder[or dust] of

¹¹ as quoted in the Dict. des Ath. p. 197. *Houteville* (a confidential secretary of Cardinal Dubois) was one of the principal French apologists for Christianity; but his book (1722, & 1740 or 41), tho' at first very successful, afterwards fell into discredit, as it was found rather to produce than to diminish antichristianism. The length of his objections and shortness of his answers was peculiarly injudicious. (see the art. in *Ladvocat's Dict.*, which is copied into *Chalmers's*).

¹ vid. *Biogr. Univ. art.* "Boindin." In this article we also read, that, when a spy, not understanding Boindin's allegorical phrasology, asked that famous atheist who "Monsieur de l'Etre" was, *Boindin* answered: "Monsieur de l'Etre" (the Deity) "is an espion de police."

² In this same pious poem we read, that the English, since becoming tolerant, have become silly! (vid. *Voltaire, mcl. litt.*, tom. 1, p. 48, 49).

his feet"—an idea which, as Voltaire says (*mélanges littéraires* tom. 3, p. 30), is equally false and disgusting.†

Jean *Cochet* (a doctor of the Sorbonne who died in 1771) says:³ "the word God signifies a Being infinitely perfect." Afterwards (p. 130) *Cochet* maintains that the idea of God is innate, and adds: "Nier l'existence de l'idée innée, c'est fournir aux Incrédules des armes victorieuses pour combattre l'existence de Dieu et l'immatérialité de notre âme." In this case, Locke and all his followers, who deny the existence of innate ideas, must be considered as indirect favourers of atheism.

*Helvétius*⁴ says:—"Que désigne le mot *Dieu*? La cause encore inconnue de l'ordre & du mouvement. Or, que dire d'une cause inconnue? Attache-t-on d'autres idées à ce mot *Dieu*? On tombe, comme le prouve M. Robinet, dans mille contradictions." --- "Nul doute," disent les lettrés Chinois, "qu'il n'y ait dans la nature, un principe puissant & ignoré de ce qui est: mais lorsqu'on divinise ce principe inconnu, la création d'un Dieu, n'est alors que la déification de l'ignorance humaine."

Voltaire, in his *Dict. Philos.*, art. "*Dieu*," (tom. 2, p. 548-550) ridicules the idle questions⁵ of the scholastics:

—"Quelle idée as-tu de Dieu? --- Dieu est-il infini *secundum quid*, ou selon l'essence? --- Dieu est-il en un lieu, ou hors de tout lieu, ou en tout lieu? --- Peut-il faire que ce qui a été n'ait point été, et qu'un bâton n'ait pas deux bouts? voit-il le futur comme futur ou comme présent? comment fait-il pour tirer l'être du néant, et pour anéantir l'être? --- Qu'est ce-que Dieu? --- Quelle est sa nature? --- Est-il corporel ou spirituel? --- Il faut absolument t'apprendre ce que c'est qu'un esprit; c'est, c'est, c'est.... Je te dirai cela une autre fois." The answer made to this last remark is: "J'ai bien peur que vous me disiez moins ce qu'il est que ce qu'il n'est pas."

Elsewhere (at the end of the 1st. ch. of his "*Philosophie de Newton*") *Voltaire*, after arguing very strongly in favour of a

³ p. 113, of his anonymous work "*La Métaphysique*," published at Paris, 1753, sm.8vo.

⁴ "de l'homme," section 2, ch. 2, *œuvr.* tom. 3, p. 96, 97.

⁵ Deists agree with most modern Christians in condemning such questions as these; but does not all theology, and consequently all religion, depend upon these questions?

Deity, says: "La philosophie nous montre bien qu'il y a un Dieu; mais elle est impuissante à nous apprendre ce qu'il est, ce qu'il fait, comment et pourquoi il le fait; s'il est dans le temps, s'il est dans l'espace, s'il a commandé une fois, ou s'il agit toujours, et s'il est dans la matière, s'il n'y est pas, etc. etc. Il faudrait être lui-même⁶ pour le savoir."

In a treatise⁷ which, after circulating perhaps a hundred years in MS., was at last printed in 1793, we read (§. xi, p. 24): "si l'on demande ce que c'est que Dieu, je réponds que ce mot nous représente l'être universel —."

In the "Bon Sens du Curé Meslier" (first published in 1772) it is asked (ch. 26): "Qu'est-ce que Dieu?"; and it is answered: "C'est un mot abstrait fait pour désigner la force cachée de la nature; ou c'est un point mathématique qui n'a ni longueur, ni largeur, ni profondeur."

According to the author⁸ of the "Examen impartial des principales religions du Monde," God is merely an operation of our minds.

The following verses constitute the epigraph of the "Esprit de la Morale et de la Philosophie" (by *Carra*):

Cet Etre merveilleux qu'on nomme Etre suprême,
Ce Dieu, n'en doute point, ô homme, c'est toi-même:
C'est en méconnoissant les droits de ta raison,
Que tu perds ce beau titre & qu'il n'est qu'un vain nom.

According to *Lablée*,⁹ (a french poet and literator,) "God is an abstract and unintelligible word; a great subject of dispute, and signal of proscriptions." *Lablée* also said: "Upon all subjects submitted to human intelligence, our ideas have become simplified and enlightened, in proportion as we have occupied ourselves about them. But upon the word God, our ideas have become more complicated and obscured; which is always the case, while

⁶ So also said Vanini, vid. supra, p. 27.

⁷ Although it mentions Descartes (p. 99 & 100, conf. p. 165) yet it is most anti-chronologically entitled the "Traité des trois Impos-
-teurs."

⁸ apparently *Saint-Floscel*, a philosopher who died in London before the French revolution. vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 141, & 149.

⁹ vid. Dict. des Athées, p. 223.

we speak of a thing without understanding it, or use words of which we know not the meaning."

Baron *Grimm*¹⁰ says: "L'existence de la montre prouve l'existence de l'horloger; un tableau indique un peintre, une maison annonce un architecte; voilà des argumens d'une force terrible pour les enfans. Le philosophe s'en paierait comme eux, si, en les admettant, il ne se trouvait pas replongé dans une mer de difficultés interminables; il aime encore mieux croire que l'intelligence peut être l'effet du mouvement de la matière, que de l'attribuer—à un ouvrier tout-puissant qui ne peut rien, et dont la volonté ne peut empêcher que ce qui est ne soit, ni rien changer à sa manière d'être,—à un être souverainement intelligent, et qui, dès que vous lui supposez une qualité morale, peut être justement accusé dans toutes ses productions, où la somme des inconvéniens l'emporte infiniment sur les avantages."

Sylvain *Maréchal*, in his "Dictionnaire des Athées," p. 313, says:

Il est un Dieu, sans doute, à qui tout est possible....
Ce Dieu, le mieux servi, père des autres Dieux,
Compte aussi ses martyrs, et même a ses miracles.
Sa présence fait taire, ou parler les oracles.
Qui touche à son autel est guéri de ses maux....
Ce Dieu n'a pas encor rencontré d'incrédule....
Fléchissez le genou, mortels! ce Dieu, c'est L'OR.

Charles François *Dupuis*, when beginning his famous "Origine de tous les Cultes", says: "Le nom de Dieu est un mot vide de sens, s'il ne désigne la cause universelle, et la puissance active qui organise tous les êtres qui ont un commencement et une fin, c'est-à-dire, l'être principe de tout et qui n'en a point d'autre que lui-même. Telle la Nature s'est toujours montrée aux hommes, qui ont jugé de ce qui est, par ce qu'ils voient, et par ce qu'ils sentent; les nations qu'il nous plaît d'appeler sauvages, en sont restées là, et les plus grands philosophes, fatigués de longues et d'inutiles recherches, ont été forcés d'y revenir."

Let us now come to the *British* theologians and philosophers.

Thomas *Hobbes* (who died in 1679) expressly says, that a spirit is determined by its place and figure, and consequently is a body, however thin and intangible (vid. Brucker, vol. 5, p. 175).

¹⁰ As quoted in pp. 31, 32, of the "Pièces Diverses" prefixed to the edition of 1822, of that famous book the "Système de la Nature".

The necessary consequence, that God is corporeal, he defends by referring to Tertullianus¹ (vid. Buddeus, de ath., p. 141; & Parkerus, de Deo, p. 94). It is even said, that he considered the Deity to be, like man, finite, imperfect, and a cause of evil (vid. Reimann, hist. ath. p. 444). Yet we elsewhere read, that *Hobbes*, like Epicurus, denied that the Deity was actuated by passions either bad or good (vid. Brucker, p. 181). Moreover [and in this respect unlike Epicurus] *Hobbes* acknowledged the supreme power of the Deity; and considered it impious to maintain, either that the universe is eternal, or that God is careless about human affairs (id. p. 175). *Hobbes's* definition of the Deity is to a certain degree allowable, if, by *body*, he meant what is usually called *substance* (id. p. 178).

That versatile divine, Dr. Samuel *Parker* (who died in 1687), opposes (in his "Cogitationes de Deo," vid. infra, p. 5) both *Hobbes*, and Descartes, himself giving, as far as I have read his book, no definition of God except perhaps in sometimes calling him the prime mover. Paley may have read the anatomical part of this work, especially when treating of the puckering up of the guts to the mesentery. But can a theologian fail to convince himself? Bishop Burnet says of Bishop *Parker*, that he was rather impious as to religion, - - - and seemed to have no other sense of religion but as a political interest, and a subject of party and faction.²

That adopter of Neo-Platonism, Dr. Ralph *Cudworth* (who died in 1688), maintains³ that "God is a nature or mind, endued with most perfect knowledge and wisdom, which exists of itself from eternity, and has given all other things life and birth." Many objections might, I think, be made to this definition; and still more to one elsewhere given of the supreme father, or "the eternal fountain, whence flows, and [ever] has flowed, the truth and wisdom which - - " (vid. syst. intell., vol. 2, p. 193).

Moreover, *Cudworth* affirms, that there exists a certain generating, procreative, or formative Nature, which acts "fatally, magically, and sympathetically." It is incorporeal, but is the same thing as the

¹ vid. supra, p. 21; and add (from the de carne Christi, ch. 11): "omne quod est, corpus est sui generis: nihil est incorporeale, nisi quod non est."

² vid. Chalmers's Dict. vol. 24, p. 125.

³ In his Intellectual System, vol. 1, p. 270, 272; & vol. 2, p. 20, edit. Mosheim.

laws of motion. It is inferior to the Deity, and has no object or design. Yet it is not an occult quality, but the unique intelligible cause of the order, constancy, and beauty of the universe* (vol. 1, p. 196-255). This language seems to imply a soul-of-the-world, dependent upon a latent, or only demiourgical, Deity.

Cudworth's arguments in favour of a God are rather unfortunate. Nearly half his work is occupied in maintaining the hackneyed hypothesis, that all philosophers, and all nations, have acknowledged a supreme Deity. He maintains likewise, some things, which even his translator (Mosheim) cannot but refute; such as,—that it is atheism, and not religion, which both excites fear (vol. 2, p. 82-85) and is produced from an ignorance of causes (p. 88-95); that demoniacs are indirect proofs of a God; and that the Devil could work miracles and predict futurity (p. 142-184).

The Hble. Robert *Boyle* (that grand glory of anglican orthodoxy, who believed in the cures of Valentine Greatrakes⁴) has written a treatise upon the different meanings of the word "Nature." One of the eight meanings which he distinguishes is that, in which Nature signifies "the action of providence, the principle of all things, that is, the power or spiritual being which acts and operates on all bodies, in order to give them certain effects." D'Alembert⁵ says, that Nature, taken in this sense, which is that which *Boyle* adopts, is no other than God himself acting according to certain laws which he has established.⁶

John *Toland* (who died in 1722) says, in his "Motion essential to Matter,"⁷ that the Deity has been refined into mere Nothing by the unwary zeal of certain theologians:

"Others, whose heads sublimer notions trace,
Cunningly prove that thou'rt almighty Space;
And Space w'are sure is Nothing; *ergo* Thou:
These men slip into truth they know not how."

⁴ as also in the efficacy of amulets, such as pounded human crania. vid. *Espr. de l'Encyclop.* Tom. 2, p. 27.

⁵ vid. *Espr. de l'Encyclop.* Tom. 11, p. 153.

⁶ It seems therefore, that *Boyle* was (unintentionally) a Naturalist, Physitheist, or Atheist. The extremes of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy will sometimes meet. Mallebranche often agrees with Spinoza.

⁷ p. 220, of *Toland's Letters*, Lond. 1704, sm. 8vo.

Elsewhere⁸ Mr. *Toland* gives the following account of his idea of the Deity:

"In mundo omnia sunt unum, unumque est omne in omnibus. Quod omne in omnibus, Deus est; æternus ac immensus, neque genitus, neque interiturus. In eo vivimus, movemur, et existimus. Ab eo natum est unumquidque, in eumque denuo revoluturum; omnium ipse principium et finis."

The Revd. William *Wollaston*, in his "Religion of Nature delineated" (p. 122), says of the Deity: "His manner of existence is above all our conceptions." --- "Neither infinite space, nor infinite duration, nor matter infinitely extended or eternally existing, nor any, nor all of these taken together, can be God." (p. 132). Thus *Wollaston*; who tells us dogmatically what God is *not*, but who, as far as I have read the very dull book in question, forgets to tell us what God *is*.

According to Sir Isaac *Newton*, "God governs all things, not as the soul of the world, but as the Lord and Sovereign of all things." --- "durat ab æterno, adest ab infinito in infinitum." --- "He is neither eternity nor infinity, but he is eternal and infinite; he is neither space nor duration, but he endureth and is present." --- "God is one and the same, for ever and everywhere, not only by his virtue or energy, but also by his substance." --- "All things are contained in him and move in him; but without reciprocal action on his part." (vid. *Syst. de la Nat.* tom. 3, p. 195-200). "God is altogether like to God; all eye, all ear, all brain, all arm, all sensation, intellect, and action; but in a manner altogether unknown to us, and by no means human or corporeal." --- "He has neither body nor figure." --- "We have no idea of his substance but only of his attributes." (vid. *Brucker*, vol. 5, p. 650). Such is *Newton's* most orthodox Deity, somewhat negative except as despotic, and perhaps more worthy of a commentator on the Apocalypse than of a discoverer of Fluxions.

Dr. Samuel *Clarke* (who died in 1729) maintains,⁹ that the self-existing Being (by which he means, not Matter, but God) is necessarily intelligent.¹⁰ But the "*Système de la Nature*" tom.

⁸ In his *Pantheisticon*; which I am obliged to quote from *Chalmers's Dict.* vol. 29, p. 431.

⁹ I give the title of his book, *infra*, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Formey* (in the *Espr. de l'Encycl.* tom. 5, p. 190, art. "Dieu")

3, p. 150, remarks, that the doctor here attributes a human quality to God: for we are not acquainted with any intelligence separate from organization. Elsewhere (tom. 3, p. 138-140, note) the *Système de la Nature* says: "Dr. *Clarke* has endeavoured to prove the existence of God *à priori*, which others judge impossible, and consider as a *petitio principii*. This sort of proof has been rejected—by the Scholastics, *Albertus Magnus*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Johannes Scotus*—and by most of the moderns, with the exception of *Suarez*. They maintain, that the existence of God cannot be demonstrated *à priori*, because nothing is anterior to the first cause; and that this existence can only be proved *à posteriori*, that is, by its effects. Consequently, the book of Dr. *Clarke* was attacked by a great many theologians, who accused him of injuring their cause, by employing an unusual, rejected, and barely sufficient method. See 'an Enquiry into the ideas of Space, Time, Immensity, &c, by *Edmund Daw*,' Cambridge, 1734."

Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Deity, as described by *Pope* in the following verses of the "Essay on Man," seems to be merely the *Anima Mundi*:

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same,
Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame,
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent."¹

Such may be the idea of a philosopher concerning Deity; but the ideas of the vulgar are of course far different:

"See from the rending earth, and bursting skies,

says: "C'est sur cette proposition que roule le fort de la dispute entre les athées et nous." J'avoue qu'il n'est pas possible de démontrer d'une manière directe *à priori*, que l'Etre existant par lui-même est intelligent - - -."

¹ Dr. Parkhurst, after quoting the above passage (in his *Hebr. Lex.* p. 322) exclaims, with bishoprick-deserving orthodoxy: "Is it not shocking to see the beauties of language and poetry thus misapplied, in dressing up the abomination of the Moabites, and in substituting *Chemosh*, or the Almighty Father *Ether* of Virgil, in the place of JEHOVAH?—"

Fierce gods descend, and fiends infernal rise;
 Here fix'd the dreadful, there the bless'd abodes;
 Fear made her devils, and weak hope her gods;
 Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
 Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or lust;
 Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
 And form'd like tyrants, tyrants would believe."

David *Hume*, in his "Natural History of Religion" and still more in his "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion", has stated almost every imaginable hypothesis on the subject of Deity. His own opinion, if a sceptic can have any opinion, is difficult to be discovered; but perhaps it may be contained in the following sentences: "By supposing [the present material world] to contain the principle of order within itself, we really assert it to be God; and the sooner we arrive at that divine Being so much the better. When you go one step beyond the mundane system, you only excite an inquisitive humour, which it is impossible ever to satisfy." (Essays, vol. 2, p. 493). "The [universe] presents nothing but the idea of a blind Nature, impregnated by a great vivifying principle, and pouring forth from her lap, without discernment or parental care, her maimed and abortive children" (p. 553). "The true conclusion is, that the original source of all things --- has no more regard to good above ill, than to heat above cold, ---" (p. 554).

Thomas *Paine*, in his celebrated Age of Reason,² says: "Do we want to know what God is? Search --- the Scripture called the Creation." Then he continues: "The only idea man can affix to the name of God, is that of a first cause, the cause of all things." Observe, that *Paine*, in this page of his Age of Reason, speaks most eloquently of the Deity; whereas his victorious (i.e. orthodox) antagonist, Bishop *Watson*, in the 135th. & 136th. pages³ of his Apology for the Bible, has thought proper to bring forward very plausible arguments in favour of Atheism, saying: "What think you of an uncaused cause of every thing? and a Being who has no relation to time, not being older to-day than he was yesterday, nor younger to-day than he will be tomorrow? who has no relation to space, not being a part here and a part there, or a whole any where? What think you" &c. &c.

² Part 1st. p. 23, edit. 1819, 8vo.

³ Of the 12mo. edition of 1823, "printed for C. & F. Rivington, Booksellers to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

Dr. *Paley*, in his "Natural Theology," proves the existence of a [material] watchmaker, from the inspection of a [material] watch.⁴ I insert the word "material,"⁵ because *Paley's* treatise seems to me a system of materialism. I do not recollect having met with the word "soul" anywhere in the book. Indeed *Paley* has derived his arguments from human anatomy; and Mr. Lawrence, the great surgeon, very properly observes (Lectures, p. 7) that "an immaterial and spiritual being could not have been discovered amid the blood and filth of a dissecting room." What little *Paley* says of the "spirituality" of the Deity (p. 397) is unsupported by any argument, and is evidently contrary to his system. He insists very properly that the great *intelligent* power must be person (vid. ch. 23, p. 362, 363, & 391). But, after saying "the seat of intellect is a person," he immediately adds: "We have no authority to limit the properties of mind to any particular corporeal form, or to any particular circumscription of space." Some readers may, however, think, that we have *every* authority for limiting mind to cerebral substance. At all events the Doctor seems here to make his Deity some sort of a "corporeal form."

Yet the only approach to a positive and intelligible definition of the word God, which I have as yet found in *Paley*, is where (at p. 365) he says: "Gravitation - - - depends, if upon a fluid, upon a fluid, which, though both powerful and universal in its operation, is no object of sense to us; if upon any other kind of substance or action, upon a substance or action, from which we receive no distinguishable impressions. Is it then to be wondered at, that it should, in some measure, be the same with the Divine nature?" Thus Dr. *Paley*, whose idea seems very heterodox. This gravitation-like Deity may be the soul of the world, or the mere energy of nature. At any rate it cannot be a person.

No wonder the Doctor confesses (p. 397), that, when we think of

⁵ conf. Syst. de la Nat., tom. 3, p. 217-219; & tom. 4, p. 302.

⁴ The watch-argument is, I suppose, borrowed from *Condillac*, who was so attached to it, that, according to Lablée (quoted in the Dict. des Athées, p. 86), if no watch existed, it would appear as if the existence of God could not be proved. It could hardly be expected that *Paley*, being a theologian, would have the candour to confess how many arguments had previously been brought forward to prove a God. He confesses however, p. 336, that Astronomy "is *not* the best medium thro' which to prove the agency of an intelligent creator." (conf. Syst. de la Nat., tom. 4, p. 86, note).

the Deity, "the mind feels its powers sink under the subject." The author says (p. 381), that Buffon's "internal moulds" are "but a name without signification; unintelligible, if not self-contradictory." Yet when (at p. 391) he sums up his most important chapter, by saying "the necessary resort is to a Deity,"⁶ does he explain more by this word Deity, than Buffon does by his "internal moulds?" Some persons may, on the contrary, think, that he explains far less.

Most of the few attributes which *Paley* attributes to his Deity are merely high-sounding "superlatives" (vid. p. 393), as worthy of a Stoic, as of a Christian. The author does not seem to mention "goodness" among these primary attributes. Yet he afterwards gives a chapter upon the subject; in which, he says more of the happiness of brutes than of that of men; apologizes for vipers, scorpions, and gnats, (as also for the gout and the gravel); and even eulogizes the artificial distinctions of what he calls civil life.

Percy Bysshe *Shelley* says, in plain terms:⁷

"There is no God!"

yet he modifies this opinion when he says (speaking I suppose of the Universe):

"The exterminable spirit it contains
Is nature's only God; but human pride
Is skilful to invent most serious names
To hide its ignorance."

Then he adds:

"The name of God
Has fenced about all crime with holiness
Himself the creature of his worshippers,
Whose names and attributes and passions change,
Seeva, Buddh, Foh, Jehovah, God, or Lord,—"

Elsewhere (Canto IV, ad fin.) the poet gives this definition of the word God, or rather this description of the ~~Xth~~ or Jewish god:

"A vengeful, pityless, and almighty fiend,
Whose mercy is a nick-name for the rage
Of tameless tygers hungering for blood."

⁶ He ought rather to have said "the necessary resort is to a *suspense of judgment*." contrast Mr. Owen's opinion.

⁷ In the magnificent poem called by the somewhat comic name of "Queen Mab," canto vii, in init.

I regret that Mr. *Shelley* should have entertained such heterodox notions; but poets will sometimes reject the opinions of ordinary men. Moreover, there is a note, given (p. 166, edit. 1813, 8vo.) on the sentence: "There is no God!", which says: "This negation must be understood solely to affect a creative Deity. The hypothesis of a creative spirit, coeternal with the universe, remains unshaken." This note, if written by *Shelley* himself, may be considered as a proof, that poets will never entirely give up the idea of a Deity. Indeed, personification is one of the greatest ornaments, or is perhaps the chief essence, of poetry.⁸

Sir William *Drummond*, in the preface to his *Œdipus Judaicus*, says: " - I adore the God, whom philosophy has taught me to consider as the infinite and eternal Mind, that formed, and that sustains, the fair order of Nature, and that created and preserves the universal system."

Mr. Robert *Owen's* opinion concerning the "First Cause" is stated, by one of his disciples, in the following peculiarly modest sentence:⁹ "The impressions which he has received lead him to believe, that the human intellect, in its present imperfect state, is altogether incompetent to judge correctly on the subject. He sees around him marks of the sublimest wisdom and design; but finding himself unable to attach 'intelligence' to that which can neither have organic structure nor dimensions, he is compelled to remain in ignorance¹⁰ till the subject be more clearly revealed to him."

Mr. Richard *Carlile* has written a short work entitled "What is God?" (1826, 8vo. pp. 46)—in which, however, instead of answering the question, he has only shewn how difficult it would

⁸ Thus *Dorat Cubières* said (vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 91, 92): "Il nous faut des Dieux, à nous autres poètes."

⁹ I extract it from the notes of an Owenian to a "Phrenological Analysis of Mr. Owen's New Views of Society" in No. II. of the "Phrenological Journal." Edinburgh, 1824, 8vo.

¹⁰ *Pascal* was equally ignorant, but not so calm:—"voyant trop pour nier, et trop peu pour m'assurer, je suis dans un état à plaindre, et où j'ai souhaité cent fois que, si un Dieu soutient la nature, elle le marquât sans équivoque, et que si les marques qu'elle en donne sont trompeuses, elle les supprimât tout-à-fait: qu'elle dit tout ou rien, afin que je visse quel parti je dois suivre." I extract this passage from the *Système de la Nature*, tom. 4, p. 143, note.

be to answer it. In the following phrase of that part of the pamphlet which is entitled a "Sketch of the History of one God"¹¹ Mr. *Carlile* seems to give us his definition, or *non-definition*, of the Deity: "God is a word for which we have no prototype or sign among the things which we see or know to exist."

In later times, the sect of *Deists* has raised itself into notice. In the Liturgy drawn up by the Reverend Robert *Taylor*, A. B. & M. R. C. S., there is a *Te Deum*, in which the Deity adored is evidently the Sun. Thus we read: "When thou takest upon thee to irradiate the Earth, thou appearest in succession through all the Zodiac. When thou hast overcome the sharpness of winter, thou openest the kingdom of summer to all creatures. Thou sittest in the centre of our system, in the glory of a Father."¹² I have been assured, that the chief priest of the Parsees, if he were to see this *Te Deum*, would acknowledge the Revd. Mr. Taylor as an important convert to fire-worship. And it would indeed have been well for Mr. Taylor to have lived among the Parsees, for a more barbarous sect of religionists have rewarded his incomparable oratory with imprisonment.

In addition to Mr. Taylor's Liturgy, I have perused a sort of imitation of it, called "A Form of Public Worship - - - arranged and compiled by R. *Detrosier*, Minister." (Manchester, 1827, 18mo). Mr. *Detrosier's* Deity seems to be the great Pan, or perhaps the soul-of-the-world. Thus in the *Te Deum* (p. 8), the deity is called: "The unchanging essence: of all materiality." And in the "solemn Declaration of Principles" (p. 10), we read: "I acknowledge one omnipresent, eternal, and unchangeable Being, the primeval essence of all materiality, and the Creator of all things visible and invisible." Afterwards, at p. 13, Mr. *Detrosier*, in a sort of amplification of the christian pater noster, uses many expressions similar to those which we find in Martianus Capella's famous hymn to the Sun (p. 43, edit. Grot., 1599, 12mo.).

The two above-mentioned Liturgies call themselves Deistical;

¹¹ Sylvain *Maréchal*, in his *Dict. des Athées*, p. 110, proposes, as "a book to be made"—"a Philosophical and Political History of God." He adds "ce livre est sur le métier"; by which words I suppose he means that he was preparing the book in question.

¹² Mr. *Taylor* himself says, in a note to the above passage (p. 21), that "—as the language of all religions is the language of the SKIES, and cometh down from the Father of Lights, i. e. the SUN—."

but one which has just appeared, and which is compiled by "the Reverend Joseph *Fitch*," calls itself only "the Universal Liturgy, or Divine Service on principles common to all sects and all religions." In this book,¹ the Deity's personality and location are denied; while his ubiquity and incomprehensibility are asserted (p. 15, note). Elsewhere (p. 6 & 7), Mr. *Fitch* says, that the "Cause of all other Causes" is

———"the great Directing Mind,
That changed through all, and yet in all the same;—"
&c. &c.

And having thus given the opinion of many *persons*, who, willingly or unwillingly, have lived under the domination of Christianity, I might be expected to say something of the ideas of the Deity entertained by the various *sects* of modern Christians. But it might be said, that the *Romanists* adore the Virgin, the *Russians* St. Nicholas, and the *Methodists* the Devil. I will therefore avoid so delicate a subject; and content myself with giving the two following quotations from Bayle (Dict. vol. 4, p. 637): The Deity of *Calvin* is, according to the Roman Catholics, "a deceitful, cruel, and inhuman being, without justice, reason, or goodness"; and the Deity of the *Socinians* was considered, by a certain Calvinist, to be an ignorant and very powerless God, not better than the God of Epicurus. The reader may judge, from these two quotations, that I am justified in saying no more upon the subject.

I might be expected to terminate this appendix by giving *my own* idea of Deity. But I have no other opinion than that of our holy mother church. Whatever the *true* sectaries of infinitely-divided protestantism adopt, that I adopt (holpen be my non-adoption); and when they change, I change (holpen be my non-changement).

Albeit, I cannot help thinking, that men's ideas of the Deity must differ, accordingly as they embrace the various systems, which, after reading part of Volney's "Ruines" (ch. 22, §. viii), I would call Elementism, Sabeism, Symbolism, Dualism, Animism, and Demiourgism.

Yet the ideas of a God, conveyed in any of these or of any

¹ I regret that, at p. 6, Mr. *Fitch* should adopt Voltaire's famous verse, of which I have already spoken in my first Appendix, p. 17. Naigeon said that this verse "est le langage d'un politique et d'un politique Athée." vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 507.

other systems, may perhaps be deduced from only *two* prototypes, viz: 1st. *Man*, and 2ndly. *the Sun*.

The *first* Deity is a *person*. He acts by design, not to say caprice. He is perhaps demiourgical, and certainly exerts a peculiar providence. He is endued with human passions. Moreover he can walk, talk, eat, and even perhaps beget. He is the God of all barbarians. He is also the God which Paley, and indeed all priests, wish to demonstrate. He might have been the Epicurean God, if Epicurus had wished for a demiourgical and providential power.

The *second* prototypical Deity is *the solar universe* considered as a self-developing globe. It is the God of most philosophers, especially of the Stoics. It may be called the *anima mundi*, or the pervading spirit, or nature. It may be assimilated to gravitation and magnetism, to light and heat. It is the source of all sublime language on the subject of Deity. It is omnipresent² eternal and immutable, and acts without any peculiar design or providence.

But it would be a sufficient answer to this system, that the separation of our ideas of God is the creation of more than one God, even as the polypus is multiplied by division.

This my third appendix has already extended to a prodigious length, and I have not yet sought the definition of the word before us through the medium of the *derivation*.

I once imagined, that the greater part of the names of the Deity might be derived from the idea of *existence* particularly as implied in the definite article of various languages. I have, however, since abandoned this theory, considering that etymological argumentation leads to endless absurdities. The following passages will shew, that even the Greeks could not agree about the derivation, or primary meaning, of their word *ΘΕΟΣ*.

*Herodotus*³ says: ΕΘΥΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΙ ΠΕΛΛΑΓΟΙ ΘΕΟΙΣΙ ΕΠΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ, - ΕΛΩΝΥΜΗΝ Δ, ΟΥΔ ΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΕΠΟΙΕΥΝ-

² When extremely rarified it becomes mere *Space*. The *Système de la Nature* (tom. 3, p. 149; conf. p. 166, & 214) asks: "Le Dieu des théologiens serait-il par hasard l'être abstrait que l'on nomme *l'espace* ou *le vide*?" (conf. Toland, *supra*, p. 37). A compendious treatise "de non entibus" would, I think, be an important work.

³ B. 2, ch. 52; conf. Meiners "de vero deo," p. 165.

-ΤΟ ΟΥΔΕΝΙ ΑΥΤΕΩΝ : ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΚΗΚΟΕΣΑΝ ΚΩ : ΘΕΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣΩ-
-ΝΟΜΑΣΑΝ ΣΦΕΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΥ , 'ΟΤΙ ΚΟΣΜΩΙ ΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΤΑ
ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΡΗΓΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΑΣ ΝΟΜΑΣ ΕΙΧΟΝ .

*Phormutus*⁴ says: ΕΥΛΟΓΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΘΕ-
-ΣΕΩΣ ΕΣΧΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΗΓΟΡΙΑΝ : ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΓΑΡ 'ΟΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΙ ΘΕ-
-ΟΥΣ ΥΠΕΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ , 'ΟΥΣ 'ΕΥΡΟΝ ΔΙΑΠΛΩΤΟΥΣ ΦΕΡΟΜΕ-
-ΝΟΥΣ , ΑΙΤΙΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΣΤΕΡΟΣ (vel ΔΕΡΟΣ)
ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΩΝ , ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ 'ΟΛΩΝ . ΤΑΥΤΑ Δ ΕΙΕΝ 'ΟΙ
ΘΕΟΙ , ΘΕΤΗΡΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ 'ΟΛΩΝ .

*Plutarchus*⁵ says:—ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΠΑΣΙΝ , ΑΠΟ ΔΥΕΙΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ
(leg. ΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ) ΤΟΥ ΘΕΛΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΝΤΟΣ , ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ
ΚΟΙΝΟΝ .

Clemens Alexandrinus,⁶ in his *Cohortatio ad Gentes* [p. 22], says :
—'ΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΘΕΩΣ ΑΜΦΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΘΕΑΝ ΑΠΑΤΩΜΕΝΟΙ , ΚΑΙ ΟΨΕΙ
ΜΟΝΗΙ ΠΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΚΟΤΕΣ , ΤΩΝ ΑΣΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΚΙΝΗCΕΙC ΕΠΙΘΕΩΜΕΝΟΙ ,
ΕΘΑΥΜΑΣΑΝ ΤΕ , ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΘΕΙΑCΑΝ , ΘΕΟΥC ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ-
-CΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥC ΑCΤΕΡΑC .⁷—

⁴ "de diis," p. 3, edit. Gale. This passage is translated by Parkhurst, in his *Hebrew Lexicon*, (art. *Shemim*) p. 745, a & b.

⁵ "de Iside," p. 375, C, edit. Xyl.; ch. 60, p. 536, edit. Wytténb.

⁶ I borrow this passage, and the following one out of *Simplicius*, from Menage's note to *Diogenes Laertius* (B. 8, ch. 27) where it is said, that, according to the Pythagoreans, the sun moon and stars are gods.

⁷ Dr. Potter's note to this passage says: "Plato, in *Cratylus*, existimare se dicit sidera, quibus solis Barbari & Græci veteres divinos honores solvebant, primò ΘΕΟΥC dictōs fuisse, tanquam ΔΕΙΟΝΤΑ ΔΡΟΜΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΝΤΑ, quæ perpetuo cursu ferantur; dein id nominis ad alios Deos venisse. . . . Etymologiei Auctor: ΘΕ-ΟC , ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΘΕΩ , ΤΟ ΤΡΕΧΩ , ΕΙC 'ΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΕC ΤΡΕΧΟΜΕΝ . ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΘΕΩ , ΚΑΙ ΘΕΥΩ , ΘΕΟC : 'ΩC ΦΩΛΕΥΩ , ΦΩΛΕΟC . 'ΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΙ , ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΠΛΕΙCΤΟΝ , ΕΠΙ 'ΗΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ CΕΛΗΝΗC ΚΑΙ ΑCΤΕΡΩΝ , ΑCΤΑΤΟΥCΙ ΓΑΡ , ΕΤΙΘΕCΑΝ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ , ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΔΕΙ ΘΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΙΝΕΙ-ΘΕΑΙ . ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΩΡΙC ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ , ΛΕΓΟΙΤ ΔΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΘΕΙΝ . Clemens, Strom. 4, p. 535, vult ΘΕΟΝ dici ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΕΤΑΤΡΕΠΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙ ΘΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΑΓΑΘΑ 'ΕΞΙΝ , propter immutabilem cursum, quo bona semper fluunt."

Macrobius (*Saturnal.* B. 1, ch. 23, p. 309) when explaining the famous passage in *Homer's Iliad* B. 1, v. 423-425, says, that the Gods mean *the stars*: “ΘΕΟΥΣ enim dicunt sidera et stellas ἀπο τοῦ ΘΕΕΙΝ id est τρεχεῖν, quod semper in cursu sint; ἢ ἀπο τοῦ ΘΕΩΡΕΙΘΑΙ.”

Simplicius (ad *enchiridium* Epicteti, cap. 38) says: ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς κκεψεως ἐστίν, ἰδεῖν πρῶτον τί σημαίνει τὸ τοῦ ΘΕΟΥ ὄνομα. καὶ ἰστεόν, ὅτι ὅι πρῶτον θέντες αὐτό, τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ περιπολοῦντας, παρὰ τὸ ΘΕΙΝ τοῦτέστι τρεχεῖν ἢ ὀξεως κινεῖσθαι, ὡς τῶς ὀνομασαν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσωματοὺς καὶ νοητὰς τῶν ὄντων αἰτίας ἀνηγαγόν τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ μέχρι τῆς μίας τῶν πάντων ἀρχῆς καὶ αἰτίας: ὥστε δηλοῦν τὸ ὄνομα ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων, καὶ αἰτιὴν νοητῆς πρῶτιστῆς καὶ κυριωτάτης. . . . καὶ αὐτὸ γοῦν, ὥς εἰρηται: τὸ τοῦ ΘΕΟΥ ὄνομα ἀπο τῶν οὐρανίων μετῆκται, ὥς ὀξεως κινούμενων καὶ θεόντων.

In the mythology of *Fulgentius* (p. 32, edit. Muncker), where the sentiment of *Petronius* is quoted, that *fear* first made Gods, we read in the note “Hinc το *Deus* quidam à ΔΕΟΣ deduxerunt, vid. *Fest.* in *Deus*; *Etym.* in ΖΕΥς; et *Barth.* ad *Stat.* tom. 2, p. 854; *Lorinum* in *Ecclesiast.* cap. xii.”

In *Schleusner's Dictionary* for the Greek N. T., the word ΘΕ-OC is thus explained: “ita dictus, ex plerorumque sententiâ, à ΘΕΕΙΝ *currere*, quia *Deus* virtute suâ infinitâ omnia *percurrit*. *Alb. Gloss. Gr.* p. 60. ΘΕΟΝ, ἀπο τοῦ ΘΕΕΙΝ καὶ περιτρεχεῖν καὶ μηδὲμ ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα πληροῦν. *Alias virorum doctorum* de hujus vocabuli origine sententias collegit *Wolfius* in *Theophyl.* ad *Autolycum* I, p. 18. I suppose the passage is that in p. 71, of the edit. 1686, where we read: ΘΕΟΣ θε λέγεται διὰ τὸ τεθεῖκεναι τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ΘΕΕΙΝ: τὸ δὲ ΘΕΕΙΝ ἐστὶ τὸ τρεχεῖν, καὶ κινεῖν, καὶ ἐνεργεῖν, καὶ τρεφεῖν, καὶ προνοεῖν, καὶ κυβερναῖν, καὶ ζωοποιεῖν τὰ πάντα.

The *Système de la Nature* (tom. 3, p. 51, note) says: “Le mot grec ΘΕΟΣ vient de ΤΙΘΗΜΙ, *pono, facio*; ou plutôt de ΘΕΛΟ-ΜΑΙ, *specto, contempletur*.”

Thus Dr. Potter; who also refers to the passage of *Plutarchus*, de *Iside*, and of *Theophilus*, ad *Autolycum*.

Court de Gébelin, in his *Monde Primitif*, ascends to a very remote source for the word $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. The entrance,⁸ or door, of tents admitted the light, or sunshine. Therefore, from the root *De*, or *Di*, meaning *day*, in Latin *dies*, in Irish *di*, &c., came the words $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ *divine*, $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, *Jovis*, &c. Hence the supreme deity, called in Greek $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, in Lat. *Deus*, in Gall. *Dhew*, in French *Dieu*, &c. means "la Divinité source de toute lumière --- le père du jour --- l'Etre-Lumière" (vid. dictionn. grec-fr., p. 257, 270; dictionn. lat., p. 508, 509, 521; & dictionn. franç., p. 382).

Volney (in a note to his "Ruines" p. 400, 401, edit. 32mo.), after saying: "En dernière analyse, tous les noms de la divinité reviennent à celui, d'un objet matériel quelconque qui en fut censé le siège," adds, that, according to Plato (in *Cratylus*), *Macrobius* and *Plutarchus* [already quoted], the root of the word $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, *errare*, like [$\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\iota\iota\nu$ or $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota$] whence comes the name of the *Planets*, which were worshipped by the ancient Greeks, as well as by the Barbarians. --- The phœnician word *thàh* (with an *ain*)¹⁰ also signifies *to wander*, and may be the source of $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$. If *Deus* comes from $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, *Jupiter*, which is derived from $\zeta\alpha\omega$, *I live*, it will then signify the soul of the world, the principal fire. *Divus*, which only means a secondary deity, appears to me to come from the oriental *div*, for *dib*, a *wolf*, or rather a *jackal*. *Dius*, & *dies*, may come from *dih*, the cry of the *hawk*, which was sacred to the sun." Thus *Volney*.

There were then at least three roots assigned by the ancients¹

⁸ As it is necessarily *triangular*, it naturally prescribed the form of the letter Δ , which, *thô* with some variation, is observed in many languages. *Court de Gébelin* seems to refer to the same source, the radiant triangle which is used to denote the deity (vid. dictionn. grec-fr., p. 257; & dictionn. lat. p. 508, 509). I cannot help thinking that the ancient constellation of the triangle, which is placed over the head of Aries, may indicate the gate of the Sun. Some say that it indicates the first letter of the word $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (vid. *Dupuis*, *Origine des Cultes*, tom. 3, P. 2, p. 91, b, edit. 4to).

¹⁰ It is the word given in p. 792, 793, of *Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon*. But if the Grecian $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ are derived from a word which signifies, both literally and metaphorically, *to go astray*, then the $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ can have little relation to the philosophical idea of an immutable *underlying* principle.

¹ That the moderns, especially the great etymologist *Court de Gébelin*, should not adopt any of these derivations (except perhaps

to the word $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$; viz. $\Theta\epsilon\epsilon$, *place*; $\Theta\epsilon\epsilon$, *run*; $\Theta\epsilon\omega$, *behold*.² Of these roots, the idea of *place*, (including *position*, and *formation*), seems to me the best. As to deriving God à *currendo*, it reminds one of the famous saying, that, if a God were invented by horses, he would *run*, or *trot*, upon four legs.³

Concerning the English word "God," Sir William Drummond, in his *Origines*, says, that it is derived from the Persian word [Khedâ]. This may seem strange, but I think it possible. Of course, the English, or more properly the Germans, cannot have gone to Persia in search of this word; but, as similarly organized machines may, when similarly acted upon, produce similar sounds,⁴ so it is possible, that the idea (whatever it may have been)⁵ which the Persians wished to express by the word "Khedâ" may have been the same which our ancestors wished to express by the word God, or Gott.

Whether these two last words are derived from Good and Gut, or rather vice versâ, I do not know. But they seem to have some affinity with the Arabic *Djadda*, "felicitas, prospera fortuna"; and still more with the Hebrew *Gad*, which is synonymous with Me-

that which is common to $\Theta\epsilon\alpha\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$,) is a sure sign that etymology is a very uncertain science, or at any rate is only in its infancy.

² If $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ has any real affinity with $\Delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, then I would derive this last word from $\Delta\epsilon\omega$ *ligo*; and would say, that the *Deity* (the sacerdotal deity) is the coercive principle, which restrains the mind by religion.

³ Clemens Alexandrinus (strom. B. 5, p. 715, edit. Potter), has preserved some verses of *Xenophanes*, which are thus translated by *Voltaire* (Dict. Philos., art. "Emblème," tom. 3, p. 90):

Chacun figure en toi ses attributs divers;
Les oiseaux te feraient voltiger dans les airs.
Les bœufs te prêteraient leurs cornes menaçantes,
Les lions t'armeraient de leurs dents déchirantes,
Les chevaux dans les champs te feraient galopper.—

⁴ This, I think, is all that can be meant, by the *derivation* of an European word from an Asiatic one, or rather by the *affinity* which may subsist between any two such words. If there is no affinity between the language of the English, and of (for instance) the Chinese; then the English and the Chinese are not similarly organized.

⁵ Probably it meant *unity*, as in Syriac. vid. J. Drusius, ad *Macrob.*, ap. Selden, de *Diis*, p. 177.

-zel tob, or Mezelâ tebâ (vid. Selden de Diis, p. 77, 79, & 93), Good Fortune, ΑΓΛΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ, or that one of the genethliacal points dedicated to the moon.

The word *Gad* may belong to the constellation Capricornus, which was called by the Hebrews *Gedi*, *Gadi*, &c.; and this sign is said⁶ to contain the Fortunes, and the lucky stars, to [one of] which it is probable that Leah refers (Genesis, ch. 30, v. 11th., according to the LXX, Vulg., &c). But Capricornus is constantly confounded with Capella (especially as regards Ægipan). The cause of this confusion may be, that Capella [except in our northern latitudes, where it does not set at all,] sets in the morning, about the time of the winter solstice, when the Sun is in Capricornus (vid. Dupuis, tom. 3, P. 2, p. 103, a). And Capella seems much connected with Aries. Eratosthenes and Aratus (ap. Dupuis) do indeed consider Capella and the Hædi as paranatellons with Taurus; but Manilius (astron. B. 5, v. 102, 103; & 128-130), if one may quote so bad an authority, places the rising of the Kids at the 20th. degree of Aries, and of Capella at the last degree (so also Firmicus; vid. Dupuis, tom. 3, P. 2, p. 222). Probably Capella had, in remote times, indicated the vernal equinox; and, even when it did not rise heliacally till near the end of April, it might poetically be referred to Aries, the equinoxial sun having, in reality, receded to this sign. At any rate, if Kircher can be relied on, the tribe *Gad* was classed under the sign, or banner, of Aries. (vid. Dupuis, tom. 1, p. 69).⁷

Now the Ram (which was the domicile of Mars, and the place

⁶ by Dupuis, tom. 3, P. 2, p. 68, b. But elsewhere (tom. 2, P. 1, p. 273, b) he says, that the goat Amalthea was called *felix sydus*. Even to the present day, Fortune is represented with the horn, or cornucopia, of the famous goat.

⁷ In a passage of Isaiah (ch. 65, v. 11, 12) *Gad* seems to be put in parallelism with *tebehhe* or *slaughter*. I suppose the wit of the sentence is (for Hebrew poetry seems to delight in contrasts, or a sort of sublime punning) that the deserters of Yehouh shall find *Gad* (i. e. *Mazal tob*, the *good* star) not a source of goodness, but of destruction. Mr. Parkhurst (Heb. Lex. p. 98, b) says in explanation of the passage: "--- therefore *Gad*, or *Baal Gad*, denotes the *destructive troops* (see Job. xxxv, 3) of the heavens, in thunder, lightning, &c---. They worshipped the heavens under this attribute, for the same reason as the Indians are said to worship the devil, namely that they might not hurt them."

of the exaltation of the Sun) was called "princeps Signorum," "princeps Zodiaci," "ductor exercitûs Zodiaci" (vid. Dupuis, tom. 3, P. 2, p. 31, 32). But our (the Jewish) Deity is repeatedly called "Yêhouh of hosts," & "Aleim of hosts." Mr. Parkhurst, giving the references (in his Hebr. Lex. p. 607, b), says, these two appellations "are frequently used as titles of the *true* God, and import that from Him *the host of the heavens* derive their existence and amazing powers,—." Mr. Parkhurst considers that the root of Ghedî (a kid), Ghîd (a nerve, or sinew), Gad (the idol), &c, implies *rushing* and *impelling* (vid. Hebr. Lex. p. 97, a; & 98, a); which ideas may, I think, be well applied, both to the leading sign of the Zodiac, and also to the grand active principle of the universe. Far be it from me to confound a Deity with a goat; but we may recollect, that in Greece, Pan was the husband of Æga, and had other goatish attributes; while, in a country of more importance to the true faith, certain Samaritan pentateuchs are, however calumniously, reported to have commenced with: "In the beginning, *Azima* (according to many Hebrews a goat-like idol) created the heaven and the earth" (vid. Dupuis, Orig., tom. 2, P. 2, p. 270, b; & tom 3, P. 2, p. 316, b).

And here terminates my *third* appendix. I flatter myself, that the definitions which it contains will be very useful, as answers both to the talkative religionist, and also to the profane scoffer, who may excite suspicion, that, when we are asked what God is, we are reduced to silence (see Wyttenbach's Prefat. note, p. 6-8, supra; & also the Bon sens du Curé Meslier, ch. 122, p. 162).

If, in this or in either of the previous appendices, there be found any doctrine contrary to the faith which (in this age and country) is the true faith, I most humbly beg leave to represent, that I do not *adopt* the objectionable opinion, but only *relate* it.

Yet, for fear this historical matter should excite the fiend of heterodoxy in any reader's mind, I have provided an antidote, viz: the following catalogue of books. Let the reader, affected by the above-mentioned distressing malady, purchase forthwith a dozen or two of the works whose titles I give, and I have no doubt but that he will find them perfect sedatives. It is for this charitable purpose, and to shew my zeal in the good cause, that I have compiled my *FOURTH appendix*:

A CATALOGUE OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS WRITTEN

AGAINST ATHEISM,

OR

TO PROVE

THE EXISTENCE OF ^{a supreme} GOD.

R. Obadia SEPHORNO, “Lux Populorum: explicat xv. Quæstiones Metaphysicas de Deo et Animâ.” Bolon. 1471, 4to.

John Sennonoyes VERON, or VERNON, “A Fruteful Treatise of Predestination, and of the Divine Providence of God; with an Apology of the same against the swynishe gruntinge of the Epicures and Atheystes of oure time. Wherevnto are added, as depending of it, a very necessary Boke againste the Free-Wyll of Men; and another of the True Justification of Faith, and of the Good Workes proceadyng of the same, made dialogue-wyse; being an Apology or Defence of the Doctryne of Predestination.” Lond. printed by W. Tisdale, without date, 8vo. [probably about 1550.].

Guillaume POSTELL, “Liber de Causis, seu Principiis et Originibus Naturæ, contra Atheos.” Par. 1552, 8vo. [Yet Postell has been accused of Atheism, though in reality very superstitious. vid. Reimm. de Ath. p. 389, 390.]

Marcus Antonius NATTA, “De Deo,” in 15 books. [about 1555.] Fol.

Hieronymus ZANCHIUS, “De Dei Naturâ. [libri quinque.” Heidelb. 1577, fol. 1590, 4to.]

Nicolaus HEMMINGIUS, (a learned Danish Divine,) “The Faith of the Church Militant,¹ moste effectuellie described in this Expo-

¹ This peaceable epithet seems, to me, to be derived from the religion of Mithra, each of whose followers declared himself “*miles Mithræ*.” (vid. Tertull. de coron. ad fin.) The opposite word *Paganus* means,—one who is not a soldier, i. e. a civilian.

-sition of the 84 Psalme, by that Reuerend Pastor, &c., Nicholas Hemmingius. A Treatise written as to the Instruction of the Ignorant in the Grounds of Religion, so to the Confutation of the Jewes, Turks, Atheists, Papists, Hereticks, and all other Adversaries of the truth whatsoever. Translated out of Latine into English, &c., by T. Rogers." Lond. 1581, 8vo.

Reginald Scor, (a learned English gentleman,) "The Discouerie of Witchcraft; wherein the lewde dealing of witches and witchmongers is notable detected, the knauerie of coniurors, the impietie of inchanters, the follie of soothsaiers, the impudent falshood of cousenors, the infidelitie of atheists, the pestilent practises of pythonists, the curiositie of figure-casters, the vanitie of dreamers, the beggerlie art of alcumstrie, the abhomination of idolatrie, the horrible art of poisoning, the vertue and power of naturall magike, and all the conueniencies of legierdemaine and juggling are discovered, &c.; heerevnto is added, A Treatise vpon the Nature and Substance of Spirits and Diuels, &c." Lond. 1584, 4to. Reprinted in 1651, 4to.; and 1665, fol.; also translated into German. [James the 1st. wrote against this book.]

Franciscus ZUMEL, Palentinus, "De Deo ejusque operibus, Comment. in primam partem S. Thomæ." Salmanticæ, 1587, 1590.

Christophe CIEFFONTAINES, "Epitome novæ illustrationis christianæ Fidei adversus Impios, Libertinos, et Atheos, &c." Paris, 1586, 8vo.

William HOLME, printed "The Touchstone of True Religion; deciphering the right use and finall end thereof, against the impietie of Atheists, Epicures, Libertines, Hippocrites,² and Temporisours, of these times." Lond. 1590, 8vo.

Joh. Egranus AVENAR, D. D., "An Enemie to Atheisme, or Christian godly Praiers for all Degrees, &c. translated by T. Rogers." Lond. 1591, 16mo.

Henry SMITH, "God's Arrow against Atheists." Lond. 1593, 4to.

Pierre CHARRON, "Les Trois Verités." [à Cahors, Anonym.]

² Mr. (Printer) Holme seems, by his peculiar Orthography, to have imagined, what is no doubt true, that many of our long-faced saints are good *judges of horse-flesh*.

1594. The first of these three truths is, that there is a God and a true religion.

[ANON.] ---, "A Treatise of the Nature of God." Printed by Thomas Creed. Lond. 1599, 8vo.

[ANON.] ---, "A Treatise of the Nature of God." Printed by Robert Dexter. Lond. 1599. 8vo.

Thomas MORTON, (a learned English Bishop,) "A Treatise of the Nature of God." Lond. 1599, 8vo.

Nicolas de NANCEL, --- died 1610, "Tr. de Deo, de Immortalitate Animæ, contra Galenum; et de sede Animæ in Corpore." . 8vo. [vid. Nicéron, Mem. Tom. 39, p. 295.]

Conrade VORSTIUS, "De Deo, sive de Naturâ et Attributis Dei." Steinfurt. 1606 et 1610, 4to. King James 1. drew up, with his own hand, a Catalogue of the several Heresies he had found in this work, and ordered it to be burnt at London, and the two English Universities.

Cyril TOURNEUR, "The Atheist's Tragedie; or the Honest Man's Revenge, as in divers places it hath often been acted." Lond. 1611.

Robert HEPBURN, "Demonstratio, quod Deus sit." Edinb. 1614, 8vo.

[] VANINI, "Amphitheatrum æternæ Providentiæ Divino-Magicum, Christiano-Physicum, necnon Astrologico-Catholicum, adversus veteres Philosophos, Atheos, Epicureos, Peripateticos, et Stoicos." Lyons, 1615, 8vo. [See the art. in *Chaufep.* Note G.]

Martin FOTHERBY, D.D., (Bishop of Sarum,) "Atheomastix; or, the clearing of Four Truths against Atheists." Lond. 1622, fol.

Marin MERSENNE, "Quæstiones celeberrimæ in Genesim, cum accuratâ Textus Explicatione: in quo volumine Athei et Deisti impugnantur, &c." Paris, 1623, fol. [A list of the Atheists of the time, which occupied five folio columns of this work, has been suppressed, as "imprudent and perhaps dangerous."]

François GARASSE, (a satiric French Jesuit,) "La Doctrine Curieuse des Beaux Esprits de ce tems, ou prétendus tels, contenant plusieurs maximes contraires à l'état, à la religion et aux bonnes mœurs, combattue et renversée par le père Garasse, de la com-

-pagnie de Jésus." Paris, 1623, in 4to.³ "Apologie pour son livre contre les Atheistes et Libertins de nostre siècle, et Réponse aux Calomnies de l'auteur Anonyme." Par. 1624, 8vo. [After accusing others of Atheism, he has been himself accused of it, which serves him quite right.]

Phil. Faventinus FABER, Ord. Min., "Disputationes quatuor contra Atheos." Ven. 1627.

AVICENNA, (--- died A. D. 1036,) "Oratio quædam Avicennæ, de Deo et ejus attributis, Arabicè tantum." Ludg. Bat. 1629, 8vo. [Yet Algazali accuses Ebn-Sina of impiety, because he attached himself more to the Philosophers than to the Koran.]

Johannes CRELLIUS, "Liber de Deo, et ejus Attributis." [Cracav. 1630, ; Amsterd. 1648, 4to.]

Thomas CAMPANELLA, "Atheismus Triumphatus, [seu contra Anti-christianismum." Rome, 1631, fol. Paris, 1636, 4to. Some one has said that it ought to have been entitled "Atheismus triumphans."]

John WEEMSE, (Prebend. of Dunelm,) "Treatise of the four degenerate Sons, viz. the Atheist, Idolater, Magician, and Jew." Lond. 1636, 4to.

Augustinus OREGIUS, (a learned Cardinal,) "De Deo." [probably ab. 1637.]

Thomas BARLOW, "Exercitationes Metaphysicæ de Deo." Oxf. 1639, fol. 1658, 4to.

John Dove, D.D., "Confutation of Atheism." Lond. 1640, 8vo.

René DES CARTES, "Meditationes de Primâ Philosophiâ, in quâ Dei existentia, et Animæ immortalitas demonstratur." Paris, 1641, 8vo.

Ludovicus CAPELLUS, (an eminent French Protestant,) "Le Pi-vot de la Foy et Religion, ou Preuve de la Divinité contre les Athées et Prophanes." à Saumur, 1643, 8vo.

Corn. ab HOGELANDE, "Cogitationes de Dei Existentiâ, Ani-

³ Bayle, (Dict. Tom. 2, p. 530, note A) says of Garasse: "Il a moins contribué à convertir les Libertins, qu' à les endurcir."

-mæ Spiritualitate, et Œconomiâ Corporis Animalis." Amst. ap. Elzev. 1646, 8vo.

Jacob BATHUMLEY, "The Light and Dark Sides⁴ of God set forth." Lond. 1650, 8vo.

Walter CHARLETON, M. D., "The darkness of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature. A Physico-Theologicall Treatise." Lond. 1652, 4to.

William TOWERS, B. D., "Atheismus vapulans, against Atheism; and Polytheismus vapulans, or that there is but one God." Lond. 1654, 8vo.

Seth WARD, (Bishop of Salisbury,) "A Philosophical Essay towards an Eviction of the Being and Attributes of God, the Immortality of the Souls of Men, and the Truth and Authority of Scripture." Oxf. 1652, 8vo. Oxon. 1655, 8vo.

Henry MORE, D. D., "An Antidote against Atheism." Lond. 1656, 8vo.

Joachimus JUNGIIUS, (- - - died 1657,) "Disputaiones, de Naturali Dei Cognitione, de - - - - ." [These treatises are not mentioned by Chauffepié, but I suppose they are noticed by Moller or Fogel.]

Vinc. HATTECLIFFE, "God or Nothing: against the Atheists of our age and nation." Lond. 1659, 8vo.

François DIROIS, (a learned Doctor of the Sorbonne,) "Preuves et Préjugés pour la Religion Chrétienne et Catholique, contre les fausses Religions, et l'Atheisme." 4to.

Samuel PARKER, (Bishop of Oxford,) "Tentamina Physico-Theologica de Deo." Lond. 1665, 4to. "Disputationes⁵ de Deo et Providentiâ Divinâ." Lond. 1678, 3 vols. 4to.

Revd. Joseph GLANVIL, "Blow at Modern Sadducism; or Philosophical Considerations touching the being of Witches and Witchcraft: with an account of the Demon of Tedworth; as also

⁴ Perhaps Mr. Bathumley was thinking of Hercules Melampygos.

⁵ In the edition of 1704, 1 vol. 4to. the first word in the title is, not "Disputationes," which savours of scepticism, but "Cogitationes," which sounds more allowable.

Reflections on Drollery and Atheism." Lond. 1666, 4to. 1667, fol. 1668, 8vo. "A Whip for the Droll, Fiddler to the Atheist." 1668, .[I do not understand the titles of these latter tracts, but they appear, to me, unworthy of a F. R. S.]

MERIC CASAUBON, "Of Credulity and Incredulity in things Natural, Civil, and Divine. Wherein, among other things, the Sadducism of these times in denying Spirits, Witches,⁶ and Supernatural Operations, by pregnant instances and evidences is fully confuted; Epicurus, his Cause discussed, and the juggling and false dealing lately used to bring him and Atheism into Credit clearly discovered; the Use and Necessity of Ancient Learning against the innovating humour⁷ all along proved and asserted." Lond. 1668, 8vo.

DAVID DERODON, "Opera Philosophica, sciz. Logica, Metaphysica, Philosophiæ Compendium, Disputatio de ente reali, et Disputatio de Existentiâ Dei." Genev. 1669, 4to. [The dates of separate and earlier editions are given in the Biogr. Universelle.] "L'Athéisme Convaincu, ou la Lumière de la Raison contre les Athées; première partie Angl. per Josh. Benhome." Orange, 1659, 8vo. Et en Deux Parties. Genevæ, 1665, 8vo. Translated into English by Josh. Bonhome. Lond. 1679, 8vo.

SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY, Bart., "The Unreasonableness of Atheism." Lond. 1669, 8vo.

ANTONIUS REISERUS, "De Origine, Progressu, et Incremento Antitheismi." Aug. Vind. 1669, 8vo. [He distinguishes about 23 sorts of Atheism. vid. Dict. des Ath. p. 389, 390.]

J. M. - - , "The Atheist silenced; or the Existence of a Deity demonstrated by Axioms and Theorems." Lond. 1672, 8vo.

NATHANIEL FAIRFAX, M. D., "A Treatise of the Bulk and Selvedge of the World; wherein the greatness, littleness, and last-

⁶ We see that the belief in witches is acknowledged in the only true faith; and consequently is part and parcel of the law of the land, as we have perhaps been informed by that enlightened Judge, Sir Matthew Hale.

⁷ An "innovating humour" always forbodes heresies, reforms, discoveries, and all other things that are horrible and shocking.

-tingness of Bodies are freely handled, with an answer to "Tentamina de Deo, by S. P., D. D." Lond. 1674, 12mo.

Johannes BREDENBURGIUS, "Enervatio Tractatûs Theologico-Politici Benedicti Spinosæ, unâ cum Demonstratione Geometricâ Naturam non esse Deum." Rotterdami, 1675, 4to. [Concerning this Atheistical production of a would-be Religionist, see Bayle, Dict. art. Spinosa, note M.]

Jean de BRUYN, (- - - died 1675,) "De Cognitione Dei Naturali."

Thomas GOOD, D. D., "Firmianus et Dubitantius; or Dialogues concerning Atheism, Infidelity, and Popery." Oxf. 1674, 8vo.

Richard BARTHOGGE, "Causa Dei; or, an apology for God, on the perpetuity of Infernal Torments, &c." Lond. 1675, 8vo. "Essay upon Reason, and the Nature of Spirits." Lond. 1694, 8vo. "Divine Goodness Explicated and Vindicated, from the exceptions of the Atheists." Lond. 1670, 1672, 8vo. "Discourse of Reason and Truth." Lond. 1678, 8vo. "Of the Soul of the World. In a letter to Mr. Locke." Lond. 1699, 8vo.

Franciscus CUPERUS, "Arcana Atheismi revelata, Philosophice et Paradoxè refutata, examine Tractatûs Theologico-Politici." Roter. 1676, 4to. 1678, 4to. [It appears that Cuper is a sort of wolf in sheeps-clothing. vid. Walch, Bibl. Theol., Vol. 1, p. 683.]

Tobias WAGNERUS, (Acad. Tubigensis Cancellarius,) "Examen Elencticum Atheismi Speculativi." Tub. 1677, 4to.

Ralph CUDWORTH, D. D., "The true Intellectual System of the Universe; wherein the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is confuted - - ." Lond. 1678, fol. - - In Latin, by J. L. Mosheim. Jenæ, 1733, 2 vols. fol. Ludg. Bat. 1773, 2 vols. 4to. [Yet Bayle accuses Cudworth's *plastic nature* as favouring Atheism.]

Thomas MANNINGHAM, (Bishop of Chichester,) "Discourse concerning Truth: Popery one great cause of Atheism." Lond. 1681, 8vo.

William BATES, D. D., "Considerations on the Existence of God, and the Immortality of the Soul; a Sermon on Heb. xi. 6." Lond. 1676, 8vo. 1677, 8vo.

Pierre POIRET, "Cogitationes Rationales de Deo, [animâ et malo.]" Amst. 1677, 4to. twice reprinted.

Joshua BONHOME, (Rector of Suddington, Leicestershire,) "The

Arraignment and Conviction of Atheism." Lond. 1679, 8vo. [Apparently the same work as that I have mentioned in the last page.]

Simon CROONENBURG, "de Infinito." Ultraj. 1679, 4to. "de Independentiâ Dei." Ultraj. 1680, 4to.

Stephen CHARNOCK, "Several Discourses of the Existence and Attributes of God." Lond. 1682, fol.

Henry CARE, Gent., "The Darkness of Atheism expelled by the Light of Nature." Lond. 1683, 8vo.

Edmund BOHUN, [who published various works between 1683 and 1698,] translated "Sicurius' Origin of Atheism." [Crusius, or Crenius, had published "Dorothei Siculi Origo Atheismi in pontificiâ et evangelicâ ecclesiâ." 1684. vid. Joh. Fabr., Hist. Bibl., P. 5, p. 371, 372.]

Louis Courcillon de DANGEAU, [or rather Franç. Timoleon de CHOISY,] "Dialogues sur - - - la Providence, l'existence de Dieu, et la religion." Paris, 1684, 12mo.

Thomas OTWAY, (a very celebrated Dramatic Writer,) "The Atheist; or the Second Part of the Soldier's Fortune; a Comedy." Lond. 1684, 4to.

[ANON.] - -, "The Atheist unmasked." Lond. 1685, 4to.

Thomas REYNOLDS, "Determinaciones Philosophicæ de Deo Creatore et Providente." Traj. ad Rhen. 1686, 4to.

John NORRIS, (a learned English Divine and Platonic Philosopher,) "Reason and Religion; or, the Grounds and Measures of Devotion considered, from the Nature of God and the Nature of Man, in several Contemplations: with Exercises of Devotion applied to every Contemplation." Lond. 1689, 8vo.

Thomas TENISON, D. D., (Archbishop of Canterbury,) "The Folly of Atheism; on Ps. xiv. 1." 1691, 4to.

François LAMI, (a Benedictine,) "Le Nouvel Athéisme Ren-
-versé, [ou Refutation du système de Spinosa, tirée pour la plu-
-part de la connaissance de la nature de l'homme." Paris, 1696,] }
12mo.

Joh. Hermann von ELSWICH, "Controversiæ recentiores de }
Atheismo." [Wittemb. 1716, 4to. vid. Walch., Bibl. Theol., Vol. }
1, p. 738.]

John RAY, "Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation." Lond. 1691, 1692, 1704, 1714, 8vo. 8th. edit. 1722, 8vo. 4s.

[ANON. - - , "Discourse of natural and revealed Religion, in several essays, or the light of nature a guide to divine truth." Lond. 1691, 8vo.]

[HENR. HORCHIUS, "Investigationes Theologicæ viii. circa origines rerum ex Deo, contra Spinosam." Herborn. 1692, 4to.]

Clement ELLIS, (an English Divine,) "The Folly of Atheism demonstrated." Lond. 1692, 8vo.

Michael MOOR, (a learned Irish Roman Catholic Divine), "De Existentiâ Dei, et Humanæ Mentis Immortalitate." Paris, 1692, 8vo.

Sir William DAWES, (Baronet, and Archbishop of York), "An Anatomy of Atheism; a Poem." Lond. 1693, 4to.

[ANON. - - , "A conference between an Atheist and his friend." Lond. 1693.]

Richard BENTLEY, (Regius Professor of Divinity), "Eight Sermons against Atheism, preached at Boyle's Lecture." Lond. 1693, 4to. 1739, fol.

Paulus BUCHIUS, "The Divine Being, and his Attributes, philosophically demonstrated from the Holy Scriptures and Original Nature of Things." Into English, out of Dutch. Lond. 1693, 8vo.

Thomas WATTS, M.A., (Vicar of Orpington and St. Mary Cray, Kent), "The English Cretes and Atheistical Christians; Thanksgiving Sermon on Tit. i. 16." 1695, 4to.

[Jo. Georg. PRITIUS, "De Atheismo et in se fædo et humano generi noxio." Leips. 1695.]

John EDWARDS, D.D., "Thoughts concerning the Causes and Occasions of Atheism." 1695. "A Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God." 1696.

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* Here insert Lami's work, which is unfortunately placed in the page opposite.

Edward PELLING, "Discourse, Philosophical and Practical, on the Existence of God." Lond. 1696,—1705, 2 parts, 8vo.

Isaac JACQUELOT, "Traité de l'existence de Dieu." Amst. 1697, 4to. [vid. Walch. Tom. 1, p. 707, 708.]

* *

Michael MAUDUIT, "Traité de la religion, contre les Athées, les Déistes, et les nouveaux Pyrrhoniens." 1697, 12mo.

Thomas EMES, "The Atheist turned Deist, and the Deist turned Christian." Lond. 1698, 8vo.

Charles LIDGOULD, M. A., "Proclamation against Atheism, &c. on Jerem. viii. 17." 1699, 4to.

Peter BERAULT, (Chaplain in his Majesty's Ships, the Kent, and Victory,) "Discourses on the Trinity, Atheism, Physic, Metaphysic, and Astronomy." Lond. 1700, 12mo.

Thomas KNAGGS, M. A., "Against Atheism, on Prov. xix. 9." 1701, 4to.

Joh. FABRICIUS, (in Acad. Juliâ, S. P. T.,) "Consideratio variarum Controversiarum, videlicet earum quæ nobis intercedunt, cum Atheis, Gentilibus, Judæis, Mahommedanis, Socinianis, Anabaptistis, Pontificiis, et Reformatis." Helmst. 1704, 4to.

George CHEYNE, M. D., "Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion." Lond. [1704,] 1705, 8vo.

[Ruardus ANDALA, "Dissertatio Philosophica, quâ existentia Dei, non modo à *posteriori*, sed et à *priori* per ipsam ejus naturam demonstratur." Franequ. 1705, 4to.]

[Edward PELLING, "Discourse concerning the existence of God." Lond. 1705, 8vo. Part 2. The 1st. Part was in 1696.]

[Michael LE VASSEUR, "Entretiens de la Religion contre les Athées, les Déistes, et tous les autres ennemis de la Foi Catholique." Blois, 1705, 12mo.]

* * Here I might mention the dissertation of Zacharias Grapius, "an Atheismus necessario ducat ad corruptionem morum." (Rostoch. 1697, 4to.); but Mr. Grapius's doubts upon this subject must be highly heretical: for, whoever does not acknowledge, that an Immaterial being can act upon Matter, must *evidently* be a cut-throat, a swindler, &c, &c, &c.

Thomas WISE, B. D., "A Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism; being an Abridgment of Cudworth's Intellectual System." Lond. 1706, 2 vols. 4to.

T. OLDFIELD, "Mille Testes; against the Atheists, Deists, and Scepticks." Lond. 1706, 8vo.

Samuel CLARKE, D. D., "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God; the Obligations of Natural Religion; and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation, being the substance of sixteen Sermons preached at Boyle's Lecture." Lond. 1706, 1732, 1739, 2 vols. fol. 1749, 8vo. "Discourse concerning the Connexion of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and the application of them to Christ; to which is added, A Letter concerning the Argument à priori, in the Proof of the Being of God." Lond. 1725, 8vo. "Several Letters to Dr. Clarke, relating to his Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God, with his answers thereto." Lond. 1749, 8vo.

Nicolas MALEBRANCHE, "Entretiens d'un Philosophe Chrétien, et d'un Philosophe Chinois, sur l'existence et la Nature de Dieu." 1708. [Paris, 12mo.]

[Val. Ernest LÆSCHER, "Prænotiones Theologicae contra Naturalistarum et Fanaticorum omne genus, Atheos, Deistas, Indifferentistas, Antiscriptuarios crassos æqué et subtiles, custodiendæ." Wittemb. 1708, 4to.]

[Conrad SCHWARTZ, "Demonstrationes Dei, quem Ratio docet ac Scriptura sacra." Lips. 1708, 8vo.]

[Adam RECHENBERG, "Fundamenta veræ religionis Prudentum, adversus Atheos, Deistas, et profanos homines, asserta et vindicata." 1708, 12mo.]

Jenkinus THOMASIUS, "Historia Atheismi." Bes. 1709, 8vo.

John OLIVER, M. A., "Against Atheism; an Assize Sermon on Ps. xiv. 1." 1710, 4to.

Joh. Christoph. WOLFIUS, "Dissertatio de Atheismi falso suspectis." Wittemb. 1710, 4to.

[Jo. RAPSON, "Demonstratio de Deo; sive Methodus, ad Cognitionem Dei naturalem, brevis ac demonstrativa, - -." Lond. 1710, 4to. Leips. 1712, 8vo. Walchius condemns this book.]

Richard BURRIDGE, "The Faith of a Converted Atheist." Lond. 1712, 8vo.

Paul LORRAIN, (Ordinary of Newgate,) "Popery near a-kin to Paganism and Atheism; in a Sermon on James i. 27." Lond. 1712, 8vo.

Mathurin Veyssière de LA CROZE, "[Entretiens sur divers sujets d'histoire, de littérature, de religion et de critique." Cologne (Amsterdam), 1711, 12mo; *ibid.* 1733, 12mo. The fourth of these dissertations is upon Atheism, and the modern Atheists. It has been translated into English. Lond.] 1712.

Sir Richard BLACKMORE, M.D., "Creation; a Philosophical Poem, demonstrating the Exertion and Providence of God." Lond. 1712, 8vo. Often reprinted. "Natural Theology, or Moral Duties considered apart from Positive. With some Observations on Desirableness and Necessity of a Supernatural Revelation." 1728, 8vo.

François de Salignac de Lamotte FENELON, (Archbishop of Cambrai, and author of *Telemachus*,) "[*Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de la connoissance de la nature, et proportionnée à la foible intelligence des plus simples.*" 1713, 12mo. 1718, 1810.] Translated into English. 1713, 4to.

[Jo. Ulr. FROMMANN, (a theologian of Tübingen,) "Atheus stultus, sive de stultitiâ Atheismi, dissertationes II, ad Ps. xiv, 1." Tübing. 1713, 4to.]

[ANON. - - , "Wiederlegung der Atheisten, Deisten, und neuen Zweifeler." Frank. 1713, 8vo.]

George BERKELEY, (Bishop of Cloyne,) "Three Dialogues, the design of which is plainly to demonstrate the reality and perfection of Human Knowledge, the incorporeal Nature of the Soul, and the immediate providence of a Deity, in opposition to Sceptics and Atheists." Lond. 1713, 8vo.

William DERHAM, D.D., (Canon of Windsor,) "Physico-Theology, or a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, from his works of Creation; being the substance of 17 Sermons preached at the Hon. Mr. Boyle's Lectures." Lond. 1713, 1714, - - - Often reprinted. A new edition, with additional Notes. - - Lond. 1798, 2 vols. 8vo. "Astro-Theology, or a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, from a survey of the Heavens; illustrated with plates." Lond. 1714, 1715, - - 3vo. ¹

¹ It appears Mr. Derham imagined he had seen the empty-

William SWORDER, (Vicar of Great Samford and Hempsted, Essex,) "Three Sermons against Practical Atheism and Occasional Conformity; on 1 Kings xviii. 21." 1714, 8vo.

Bernard NIEUWENTYT, "[Het regt gebruyk der werelt-beschouwingen." Amst. 1715, 1717, 1720, with 23 plates, 4to.] Translated into English by Mr. John Chamberlayne, under the title of "The Religious Philosopher; or, the Right Use of the Contemplation of the World, for the conviction of Atheists and Infidels." Lond. 1718-19, 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1730, 3 vols. 8vo. [Noguez, the French translator, has omitted, as too diffuse and trivial, a preliminary discourse, on the sources and remedies of Atheism, which is contained in the Dutch and English editions. That enthusiastic Theist, J. J. Rousseau, detested the dull and prolix work of Nieuwentyt. Voltaire says, that according to Nieuwentyt, "God has given us ears, in order that we may have faith; because faith comes from hearsay." vid. Hist. de Jenn. ch. 8.]

William WISHART, D.D., "Theologia; or Discourses of God, delivered in cxx Sermons." Edin. 1716, 2 vols. 8vo.

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Thomas PHILIPS, "Dissertatio Historica de Atheismo." Lond. 1716, 8vo.

Jo. Francisc. BUDDEUS, "Theses Theologicæ de Atheismo et Superstitione." Jenæ. 1717, 8vo.

-reum, in the Milky Way. vid. Voltaire, *Micromég.* ch. 1, where the Edit. de Kehl remarks, concerning the reverend astronomer: "malheureusement lui et ses imitateurs se trompent souvent dans l'exposition de ces merveilles; ils s'extasient sur la sagesse qui se montre dans l'ordre d'un phénomène, et on decouvre que ce phénomène est tout différent de ce qu'ils ont supposé; alors c'est ce nouvel ordre qui leur parait un chef-d'œuvre de sagesse. Ce défaut, commun à tous les ouvrages de ce genre, les a décrédités. On sait trop d'avance que, de quelque manière que les choses soient, l'auteur finira toujours par les admirer." But the astro-nomico-theologists are, I think, not more unfortunate than the anatomico-theologists. vid. Lawrence's *Lectures*, p. 50, 51.

* Here, and not at p. 8, I should have mentioned Elswich's book.

--- COLEEBER,² "Impartial Enquiry into the Existence and Nature of God." 1718, 8vo.

[The Count LORENZO MAGALOTTI, "Lettere Famigliari." Venice, 1719, 1732, 1741, 4to. These letters are not what their title indicates, but are an absolute treatise of controversy against Atheists. Tiraboschi says that we have no book worthy the reputation of Magalotti, except these letters. The critic was no doubt right to make this exception: for all books against Atheists must, of course, be good.]

Rev. THOMAS PARSONS, "The Being of God Demonstrated from the Formation of Man, in a Discourse on Genesis ii. 5." Oxf. 1721, 8vo.

WILLIAM DAWSON, "Atheist; a Philosophical Poem." Lond. 1723, 4to.

WILLIAM NICHOLS, D.D., "A Conference with a Theist: containing an Answer to all the most usual Objections of the Infidels against the Christian Religion: in five parts." Lond. 1698-1703, 4 vols. 12mo. A third edition, with the addition of two Conferences; the one with a Machiavelian, and the other with an Atheist; carefully revised and prepared for the press by the Author himself. Lond. 1723, 2 vols. 8vo.

ROGER DAVIES, "Essay on the Existence of a Divine Being." Lond. 1724, 8vo.

GEORGE BERNARD BILFINGER, "Dilucidationes Philosophicæ de Deo, Animâ [humanâ, mundo, et generalibus rerum affectionibus]." ³ Francf. 1725, 4to.

JOH. ALBERT FABRICIUS,⁴ (one of the most eminent and labori-

² The same, I suppose, as Samuel Colliber mentioned opposite.

³ But this Wolffian and Leibnitzian sometimes uses very unguarded expressions. vid. Syst. de la Nat. Tom. I, note at p. 72, & p. 80.

⁴ Fabricius had already given a specimen of this work in the seventh volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*; from which I have copied into the present Catalogue, the principal works written subsequently to 1690. The titles, of upwards three-dozen more-ancient works against Atheism, I would also have inserted, if I had not forgotten Fabricius's Catalogue till after my last half sheet was consigned to the press.

-ous Scholars of his time,) "Delectus Argumentorum et Syllabus Scriptorum, qui veritatem religionis Christianæ adversus Atheos, Epicureos, Deistas seu Naturalistas, Ido latras, Judæos, et Mahammedanos lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt." Hamb. 1725, 8vo.

Thomas MORELL, D.D., "Poems on Divine Subjects, original, and translated from the Latin of Marcus Hieronymus Vida; with large Annotations, more particularly concerning the Being and Attributes of God." Lond. 1732, 8vo. Reprinted, 1736.

Revd. John JACKSON,⁵ "The Existence and Unity of God, &c." 1734.

Samuel COLLIBER, "Free Thoughts concerning Souls." Lond. 1734, 8vo. "Impartial Inquiry into the Nature and Existence of God." Lond. 1735, 8vo.

J. Thomas PHILIPS, "Dissertationes Historicæ quatuor. 1. De Atheismo; 2. De Papatu; 3. - - - ." Lond. 1735, 8vo.

John HANCOCK, D.D., "Sermons on the Being of God; preached at Boyle's Lecture." Lond. 1739, vol. 1.

Archibald CAMPBELL, "The Necessity of Revolution;⁶ or an Inquiry into the extent of Human Powers with respect to matters of Religion, especially the Being of God, and the Immortality of the Soul." Lond. 1739, 8vo.

W. WESTON, "Some kinds of Superstition worse than Atheism; 2 Sermons on Phil. iii. 6." 1739, 8vo.

Benjamin HEATH, (a Lawyer - - -,) "An Essay towards a Demonstrative Proof of the Divine Existence, Unity, and Attributes; to which is premised, A Short Defence of the Argument commonly called à Priori." 1740.

Jeremiah HUNT, D.D., (a Dissenting Divine, died 1744,) "Sermons on the Being and Attributes of God; on Moral Obligations, and on various subjects." 4 vols. Posth.

⁵ He also wrote against Cato's Letters, and against Anth. Collins, and Tindal, Morgan, and Middleton; &c.

⁶ A false print, I suppose, for "Revelation." I have often heard this mistake made in the theological orations of Mr. Gale Jones.

Richard JACK, "Mathematical Principles of Theology; or the Existence of God Geometrically Demonstrated." Lond. 1747, 8vo.

Henry PIERS, M.A., "Atheism a commoner sin than thought of; the Substance of three Sermons on Ephes. ii. 12." 1748, 8vo.

[ANON.] --, "Thoughts on such Phrases of Scripture as ascribe Affections and Passions to the Deity." Lond. Buckland, 12mo. 1750. 1s.

Henry HOME, Lord KAMES, "Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion; with other Essays concerning the proof of a Deity." Edin. 1751, 8vo. Anon.

Samuel BOYSE, "The Deity; a Poem." 3rd. edit. 1752.

Hammond L'ESTRANGE,⁷ "Essays on the being of a God, his governing and preserving Providence; also some further thoughts on the necessity and certainty of a Divine Revelation." Lond. 1753, 8vo. 2s.

François Marie Arouet de VOLTAIRE, "[Histoire de Jenni, ou l'Athée et le Sage."⁸ 17 , . Translated into English under the title of] "Young James, or the Sage and the Atheist; an English Story." Lond. 1776, 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Daniel CONCINA, (a very celebrated Dominican Divine,) "Treatise on Revealed Religion, against atheists, deists, materialists, and indifferents." In Italian. Venice, 1754, 4to.

Alexander CAMPBELL, "A Chain of Philosophical Reasoning: being an attempt to demonstrate the Necessary Existence of a

⁷ It seems not to be ascertained by which Hammond L'Estrange this book was written.

⁸ This attack upon Atheism is not the less powerful for being gay and witty. Its faults are, the want of definitions, and the confounding Metaphysics with Ethics. But these faults are common to almost all anti-atheistical works. I might here ask, why the priests, who are constantly talking of the cause of God, do not patronize the works of Voltaire and Rousseau, who were firm believers in God. Is it that the priests are really indifferent about the Deity, and care for nothing but their own tithe-enjoining dogmata? But such an idea is impossible,—inadvisable,—heretical in short. I mention it, only to show my reprobation of it.

Supreme Being, both from Nature and Reason. Likewise a Refutation of the Epicurean System of the Formation of the Universe, &c." 1754, 8vo. 2s.

Joseph SMITH, D.D., "A clear and comprehensive View of the Being and Attributes of God." 1754. A pamphlet.

Sir Isaac NEWTON, "Four Letters to Dr. Bentley; containing some arguments in proof of a Deity." Lond. 1756, 8vo. 1s.⁹

[ANON.] --, "Thoughts on the Being of a God, the Nature of Man, and the Relation of Man to his Maker, &c; addressed to Mankind in general." Lond. Crowder, 1756, 8vo. 2s.

[ANON.] --, "A New Method of demonstrating from Reason and Philosophy, the four Fundamental Points of Religion,¹⁰ viz. The Existence of the Immateriality of the Spirit or Soul of Man; 2. The Existence of the Supreme Spirit, or God; 3. The Immortality of the Soul of Man; 4. The Certainty of a Future State of Eternal Happiness or Misery." Lond. Millar, 1756, 8vo. 4s.

William DUNCOMBE, "Remarks on Lord Bolingbroke's notion of a God, with some occasional notes." "A Translation from Cicero, De Naturâ Deorum; of the Arguments of Q. Lucilius Balbus, the Stoic,¹ in proof of the being, and of the wisdom, power, and goodness of God." 1763.

⁹ According to the Biogr. Univ., Newton was, in 1693, afflicted with a severe mental disorder. He died in 1727. I know not when these letters were written.

¹⁰ I wonder what Religion the anonymous writer alludes to. By his mentioning "the Supreme Spirit" one might imagine that he worshipped "the Great Spirit" the "Owaneeyo" of the North American Aborigines. As to the Immortality of the Soul it is a Platonic rather than a Christian doctrine. Paulus Tarsensis seems to speak only of the Resurrection of the Body—a Pharisaic and perhaps Mithriac or even Egyptian doctrine, seemingly incompatible with that of Plato. At any rate the Anonymous writer deserves to be considered as an Infidel, because apparently he does not allude to the sublime Israelitish publications on which depends the only true (the present Anglican) Religion.

¹ A Christian's borrowing the arguments of a Pagan, in order to remove him out of a difficulty, is *evidently* not at all like a

Ralph HEATHCOTE, D. D., "A Discourse upon the Being of God, against Atheists; in two Sermons." Lond. 1763, 4to. 1s. 2 editions.

Jean Baptiste BULLET,¹ ["L'Existence de Dieu démontrée par les merveilles de la nature." Paris, 1768,] 2 vols. 12mo.

[ANON.] --, "A Treatise on the Existence of a Divine Being from all Eternity: to which is annexed, A Succinct Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul; illustrated by demonstration. By Christianus." Norwich, 1770, 4to.

[François Marie Arouet de VOLTAIRE, "Il faut prendre un parti, où le principe d'action." 17. (Œuvr. Tom. 29, p. 166.) Condorcet (Vie de Voltaire, last page but one,) says, that this work "renferme peut-être les preuves les plus fortes de l'existence d'un Être suprême, qu'il ait été possible jusqu'ici aux hommes de rassembler."*]

The Hon. and Revd. James COCHRANE, "On the Existence of a Deity; a Sermon on Rom. i. 20." 1780, 8vo.

Giacomo BELGRADO, "Della Esistenza di Dio da' Teoremi Geometrici dimostrata, Dissert." Udina, 1777, . "Dell' Esistenza d'una sola specie d'esseri ragionevoli e liberi si arguisce l'Esistenza di Dio, Dissertazione." Udina, 1782.

[ANON.] --, "An Attempt to shew that the Knowledge of God has in all ages been derived from Revelation or Tradition, not from Nature."² Glasg. 8vo. 1s.

poor wretch's jumping at the Devil's cloven foot to drag him off a well. Moreover, Balbus argues, in part, from auguries, and from apparitions of the Deities. He maintains also that the World is wise; and is scarcely even ashamed to acknowledge that God is round and rollable.

¹ Here is the true proof—solid, weighty, and irresistible.

+ Other works of Voltaire in favour of a Deity, are "Lettres de Memmius à Cicéron" (Tom. 29, p. 197–229); the "Homélie sur l'Athéisme" (Tom. 29, p. 332–350); the articles "Athéisme," and "Dieu" of his Dictionnaire Philosophique; the "Poème sur la Loi Naturelle;" "Les Adorateurs, ou les louanges de Dieu" (Tom. 32, p. 348–374); and the second Dialogue d'Evhémère "sur la Divinité." (Tom. 32, p. 472–481.)

² The man who wrote this title must either have been a wolf

M. J. G. LINDEMANN, "Geschichte der Meinungen, &c; or, a History of the Opinions of Ancient and Modern Nations, concerning the Deity, Religion, and the Priesthood; together with a particular Ecclesiastical History of the Egyptians, Persians, Chaldeans, Chinese, Phenicians, Greeks, and Romans, and a View of the Religion of the Savages. Part. i." 1784, 8vo.

François BLANCHET, (a French abbé,) "Vues sur l'Education d'un Prince," with "an ode on the existence of God."³ 1784, 12mo.

Hugh HAMILTON, D.D., (Bishop of Ossory,) "An Attempt to prove the Existence and absolute Perfection of the Supreme Unoriginated Being, in a demonstrative manner." Lond. 1785, 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Peter SCHOUTEN, "A Treatise on the Being of a God; published by the Society of Edam: from the Dutch." Lond. 1787, 12mo.

Jean Baptiste AUBRY, "Leçons métaphysiques à un milord incrédule sur l'existence et la nature de Dieu." 1790. "Questions aux philosophes du jour, sur l'ame et la matière," 1791.

John HILL, Philologus, "Lectures and Reflections on various subjects: viz. Divinity, Law, Civil and Ecclesiastical; Philosophy, Characters, Atheism, and Hypocrisy; Manliness, Godliness, and Gratitude; Coalition, Marriage, Industry, and Sloth; with The Force of Wonder; a Poem. Lond. 1792, 8vo. 4s.

[ANON.] - - , "An Answer to their own Principles, to direct and consequential Atheism."⁴ Lond. Ridgway, 1793, 8vo. 3s.

in sheep's clothing, or must otherwise have had much more zeal than knowledge. It is dreadful to see how the best of causes is betrayed by false, or foolish, advocates. The Lord defend the Lord from the Lord's friends!

³ If these works, apparently posthumous, were published conjointly, and in the order mentioned by Dr. Watt; then, although I cannot but approve of every union of Church and State, yet I may at the same time be surprised, and even scandalized, that the Prince should seem to take precedence of the Deity.

⁴ This title seems equally ill-written and furious. The author should have given his name. He might have been promoted to a methodist class-leadership.

Richard Joseph SULIVAN Esq., "A View of Nature; in Letters to a Traveller among the Alps; with Reflections on Atheistical Philosophy, now exemplified in France." Lond. 1794, 6 vols. 8vo. 36s.

Rev. John MALHAM, (Vicar of Hilton in Dorsetshire,) ⁵ "A Word for the Bible; being a serious Reply to the Declarations and Assertions of the Speculative Deists and Practical Atheists of modern times, particularly the Age of Reason, by Thomas Paine." Lond. 1796, 8vo.

Rev. John Prior ESTEIN, LL. D., "The Nature and the Causes of Atheism." 1797, 8vo. 2s. [He also wrote against the Age of Reason.]

Edward DUNN, "The Existence of God in Three Persons, Philosophically proved." Lond. 1799, 8vo.

William Hamilton REID, "The Rise and Dissolution of the Infidel Societies in this Metropolis, including the Origin of modern Deism and Atheism, the Genius and Conduct of these Associations, their Lecture-Rooms, Field-Meetings and Disputations, from the publication of Paine's Age of Reason till the present period; with general Considerations on the Influences of Infidelity on Society, &c." 1800, 8vo. 2s.

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William PALEY, D. D., "Natural Theology; or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity; collected from the appearances of Nature." ⁶ [1st. and perhaps also] 5th. edit. Lond. 1802, 1803, 8vo. 9s.

⁵ But I ought to have omitted this work: for, whatever Mr. Malham may say against "Practical Atheists" (an absurd term,) yet I am most piously afraid, that most of the opponents of Mr. Thomas Paine have, in crying up the Bible, done little more than decry the Deity.

* Here I might mention the "Dictionnaire des Athées," by Pierre Sylvain MARÉCHAL, Paris, 1800, 8vo. But this laborious, 'tho' uncandid, as also hastily-printed, work, unfortunately pleads on the heterodox side of the question.

⁶ This book has, in our country, so obliterated all former publications on the subject, that one would suppose there existed no written proof of the Deity, till within the last 25 years. Dr. Pa-

George Henry LAW, D.D., (Lord Bishop of Chester,) "The Limit⁷ to our Inquiries with respect to the Nature and Attributes of the Deity." 1804, 4to. 1s. 6d.

Thomas LANGDON, "The Divine Being, a God that hideth himself;"⁸ a Sermon, preached at Salem Chapel, Leeds. 1804, 12mo.

George CLARKE, (of Surrey,) "Farther Evidences of the Existence of the Deity; intended as a humble Supplement to Archdeacon Paley's Natural Theology." 1806, 8vo. 2s.

Frederick SNOBERL, "Demonstration of the Existence of God from the wonderful Works of Nature; from the French of Chateaubriand; being an Extract from his Beauties of Christianity."⁹ 1806, 8vo.

John Scott BYERLEY, "Leopold de Circe, or the Effects of Atheism; a Novel." 1807, 2 vols. 12mo.

Revd. Samuel VINCE, A.M., (Plumian Professor of Astronomy, Archdeacon of Bedford,) "A confutation of Atheism from the Laws of the Heavenly Bodies; in four Discourses; preached before the University of Cambridge." Camb. 1807, 8vo.

Revd. David SAVILE, "Dissertation on the Existence, &c. of God, and¹⁰ of the Deity; Character, &c. of his righteous subjects." Edin. 1807, 8vo.

-ley's arguments are chiefly anatomical, despite of the famous proverb "duo Medici, tres Athei." Moreover, it is much to be lamented, that the confessedly best proof of a most wise (and consequently most beneficent) Being, must be derived from a disgusting and unnatural pursuit, which the laws of this country so strongly reprobate, that all our young surgeons are now obliged to study at Paris.

⁷ This title looks very much like an extinguisher.

⁸ What a horrible and shocking title! The Deity hide himself!—Why, what should he be ashamed of?

⁹ It is said, that Chateaubriand wrote his "Beauties of Christianity" at the suggestion of a Bookseller, who, when the Marquis presented for sale an irreligious MS., remarked that the popular tide now ran in the contrary direction.

¹⁰ Does Mr. Savile distinguish *God* from the *Deity*?

Rev. Christopher HODGSON, LL.B., "A Discourse on the Existence of God." 1808, 8vo.

[ANON.] - - "A New Argument for the Existence of God." Lond. Longman, 1808, cr. 8vo.

Rev. Robert ADAM, B.A., "The Religious World Displayed, or a View of the four grand Systems, Judaism, Paganism, Christianity, and Mahomedanism; and of the various existing Denominations, Sects, and Parties in the Christian World; to which is subjoined a View of Deism and Atheism."¹ 1809, 3 vols. 8vo. 31s. 6d.

William ENFIELD, A.M., "Natural Theology; or a Demonstration of the being and attributes of a God, from his works of Creation, arranged in a Popular Way for Youth."² Lond. 1809, 12mo. 2s. 6d.

John GOLDIE Esq., "A Treatise upon the Evidences of a Deity." 1809.

William Lawrence BROWN, D.D., "An Essay on the Existence of a Supreme Being possessed of Infinite Power, Wisdom, and Goodness; containing also the Refutation of the Objections urged against his Wisdom and Goodness." To which Mr. Burnet's first prize of £1200 was adjudged.³ 1816, 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.

¹ I must protest against this title, as savouring of candour and heterodoxy: for it is not dogmatical, but only historical and descriptive.

² I do not like this Title. Adults reject every book "arranged in a Popular way for Youth." And then again: children believe in every thing, in which they suppose grown up people believe. And why should Schoolmasters (i. e. Stultifiers) excite Scepticism by attempting to prove what is assumed?

³ Dr. Brown seems therefore to have argued on the winning side of the question.

The above list is chiefly compiled from the references given in that most laborious and useful work the *Bibliotheca Britannica*.

I will now give the titles of some books, which Walchius, in his *Bibliotheca Theologica* (Vol. 1, p. 698--704), has very methodically arranged :

Fr. Hoffmann, as also Detharding, Heister, and Hebenstrein, have derived arguments in favour of a Deity from the inspection of the human frame. Other anatomico-theologians have been more minute. Sturmius, in 1678; and Thummigius, in 1725; prove a Deity from the *eye*: J. A. Schmidius, in 1694, from the *ear*; G. A. Hamberger, in 1709, from the *heart*; Chr. Donatus, in 1686, from the *hand*; J. F. Wucherer, in 1708, from the *brain*; ¹ and J. Timmius, in 1735, from the *spine*. Other anthro-po-physico-theologians have proved the same grand problem, without being obliged to contemplate the horrors of a dissecting room. I allude to Feverlin's proofs from the human voice; Jenichen's from the external senses; Ries's from the union of the mind and body; Kromayer's and Weitzmann's from our passions.

Walchius next mentions the treatises, in which the Deity is proved from observations on irrational Animals. Zornius, in his *Petinotheologie*, argues from *birds*; Richter, in his *Ichthyotheologie*, from *fishes*; *Cœl.Sec.Curio*, and Ger. Meier, from *spiders*; Rathlef, in his *Akridotheologie*, from *locusts*; ² Lesser, in his *Tes-taceotheologie*, from *shell-fish*; and in his *Insectotheologie*, from *insects*. Even *mice*, *ants*, and *silkworms*, ³ have afforded excellent

¹ Yet the physiologists, who, in latter times, have the most profoundly studied the brain, have been accused of establishing a system of materialism.

² I think Mr. Rathlef ought to have reserved the *locusts* to prove the existence of the Devil,—an essential part of the Christian Pneumatocracy, who, 'tho' of infinite use to the fathers of the church, has latterly fallen into most shocking and inconceivable neglect.

³ I have no doubt but silkworms were created in order that ladies might wear satins, and levantines, and gros-de-Naples, &c. &c. &c.

arguments; and have no doubt equally shown the ingenuity and the orthodoxy of the pious naturalists who condescended to investigate their habits. Moreover, Andr. Murray, in 1724, has argued from the voice of animals; ⁴ Leon. Bohner, in 1725, from the variety of the external forms of animals; and, in the same year, Reimarus proved "the existence of a most wise God" from the instinct of brutes.

Rational beings, and even Irrational, have thus proved the existence of a being supremely rational; we need not therefore be surprised if we arrive at the same result from the consideration of beings, or rather things, yet lower in the scale of organization. The *plants* attest a Deity, according to the Phytotheologie of Jul. Bern. von Rohr, and various treatises of J. Christian Benemann. The *Mountains* ⁵ are "witnesses of the Deity" in the opinion of Faverlinus; and Lesser, in his Lithotheologie, argues even from *stones*. ⁶ These are German Treatises: of the English may be mentioned the "Metaphysical and Divine Contemplations on the *Magnet*" ⁷ by that enlightened Witch-burner Sir Matthew Hale.

After mountains and stones, nothing more simple can be imagined than the elements; and even these unorganized substances evince the existence of a grand organizer: for that most laborious of scholars, Jo. Alb. Fabricius, proves a Deity, in his Hydrotheologie, from *Water*; and, in his Pyrotheologie, from *Fire*. It may be added, that the Water-argument must to a certain degree have been previously alluded to, in Meier's treatise on *Rain*, ⁸

⁴ The yelling of dogs, and the screeching of owls, I suppose, as instances of universal harmony.

⁵ I suppose Mr. Feverlin alludes to those mountains which skipped like rams and the little hills like lambs.

⁶ Yet Paley, in the very first page of his *Natural Theology*, seems to confess that no argument could be founded on a stone. But Mr. Lesser can scarcely allude to ordinary stones. Perhaps he proves the goodness of God from that agreeable disease the stone in the bladder.

⁷ Lond. 1695, 8vo. The *Bibl. Brit.* says fol.

⁸ In his dissertation de Pluviâ, existentiâ Dei teste. Hamb. 1686, 4to.

and Leutwein's upon *Snow*⁹; as the fire-argument may afterwards have been improved by the treatise upon *Thunder and Lightning* by von Seelen¹⁰, Zopf¹, Rhyzel², and Ahlwardt³.

I will abridge no further from Walchius's 4th. §. of the 5th. sect. of his 5th. chapter: for Schwartzius with his *demons*⁴, and Stengelius with his *monstruosities*⁵, must I think have been, either secret enemies, or most unprofitable friends, to the grand cause which they proposed defending. Here therefore ends my catalogue; which, however, the transcription of a few more pages, from Walchius and Fabricius, would nearly have doubled.

The pious theiosebist must, I think, allow, after reflecting upon the multitude of books written upon the subject, that, if the

⁹ In his "Theologia Nivis physico-mystica dogmatico-practica; oder geistliche lehrschule vom Schnee." Nurimb. 1693, 8vo.

¹⁰ "de Tonitru, existentia Dei teste." 1722, & 1724.

¹ "de providentiâ Dei fulminantis". 1728, 4to.

² In his "Brontologia theologico-historica," written in the Swedish language, 1721, 4to.

³ "Brontotheologie; oder vernünftigen und theologischen betrachtungen über den Blitz und Donner; wodurch ---." 1746, 8vo. Let me here observe, that I wish the thunder-and-lightning argument were reserved for the *Evil* principle: the *Good* principle might, like Franklin, have drawn away the dangerous fluid with conductors. Electric explosions may indeed plead for false (antiquated, vanquished, or foreign) Gods. Petronius somewhere says:

"Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor, ardua cœlo
Fulmina cum caderent discussa que mœnia flammis."

But Lucretius (B. 6, v.380—423) brings forward some plausible reasons against the divine origin of lightning. Sir William Drummond, in his "Odin", p. 113, when describing the principle of *Evil*, says:

"He speaks in thunder ———".

⁴ "de usu et præstantiâ Dæmonum ad demonstrandam naturam Dei." Altorf. 1715.

⁵ "de Monstris et Monstrosis, quam mirabilis bonus et justus in mundo administrando sit Deus, monstrantibus." Ingolstadt. 1647, 8vo.

existence of "the true God" is not already proved, it probably never will be proved. At any rate let us piously hope, that well-meaning persons will for the future keep their proofs to themselves: for, as was remarked, a century and a half ago, by the devout Father *Sainte Marthe*: "So many books are written to prove religion, that in time there will be no religion"; and, even eighteen centuries ago, Cicero's *Cotta*, after saying that he believed in the Gods because his ancestors believed in them, said to Balbus: "You bring forward all your arguments to prove the existence of the Gods; so that, what in my opinion is by no means doubtful, you, by your argumentation, render doubtful."

END OF THE FOURTH APPENDIX.

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE PRINCIPAL CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

OBSERVE, that, throughout the volume, some words are spelt in various ways, viz. Grecian, Grecian, & Græcian; idolatry & idolo-
-latry; Demons & Dæmons; 'though, 'tho', & thô. Also there are
sometimes blanks, where an author copied seems to have left a
false print.

IN the Preface.

- p. i, line 2, ^{Kabb.} *for*: Orphica, *read*: Orphic Hymns
p. iii, note 3, *for*: No. 2, *read*: No. 261.
p. vi, line 10, *for*: edition, *read*: impression

IN the Life of Plutarchus.

- p. 3, note 1, line 1, *after*: was, *add*: but see p. 33, note 1, line 9.
p. 6, note 6, *read*: p. 575, E; [vol. 5, p. 321, Wyt.]
p. 10, line 15, *read*: ΔΙΑΠΡΑΞΑΜΕΝΟΝ
p. 13, *add* (as a note to line 13): [But he is often an interlocutor, ^{especially} in
the Symposiaca Problemata.]
p. 13, line 16, *read*: ΟΥΧ ΑΠΛΟΥΝ
p. 13, line 23, *read*: ΤΑ Δ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥΣ
p. 16, note 10, *after*: Lucianus (A. D. 176), *add*: Galenus (A. D. 180)
p. 19, lines 15, 16, *read*: ΜΗΤΕ ΥΠΕΡΕΧΗ ΠΟΛΥ · ΧΑΙΡΙΝ ΕΑ
p. 19, note 2, *after*: edit. Potter., *add*: conf. strom. B. 6, p. 642;
Brucker, H. Ph., vol. 3, p. 317; and Mosheim, de turbatâ, p. 754.
p. 23, read the end of note 8, *thus*: - - - p. 749, B. [In the same
treatise (p. 756) Plutarch's father, after remarking that the
tradition of one's country is the best foundation of religion,
adds, that Love is not ΕΗΛΥΣ ΕΚ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΗΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟ-
-ΝΙΑΣ, ὡς ΠΕΡ ΑΤΤΑΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΙ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΙ - - - .
Afterwards (p. 764, C & E) we are told, that Love is the
only deity who is acknowledged by those three directors of

our opinions concerning gods, the poets the legislators and the philosophers.]

p. 25, line 24, *read*: ΔΟΜΕΤΙΑΝΟC

p. 29, read the end of the note 2, *thus*: presentait." vid. ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ, p. 811, B & C; vol. 7, p. 523, Wytt.].

p. 31, note 1, *efface* (as contemptible) *from*: I wish, *down to*: fresh one.

p. 32, note 7, *after*: prosewriter, *add*: (except Thucydides and possibly Herodotus). *After*: Horatius, *add*: and probably Juvenalis.

p. 35, line 13, *for*: versalite, *read*: versatile.

IN Wytttenbach's Prefatory Note.

p. 5, at the end of note 8, *add*: But conf. Hume's Essays, note. SS, vol. 1, p. 519.]

p. 8, at the end of note 7, *add*: except that given in the title page (vid. infra, 3rd. appendix, p. 31).

p. 8, note 8, line 3, *for*: my appendix, *read*: my second and third appendices.

p. 9, note 9, after the word "governing", *add*: (vid. Lucretius, as quoted by Servius, ad Æn. VIII, in Elmenhorst's note to Minut. Felix, p. 37.)

p. 9, note 10, *after*: Engl. Tr., *insert*: van Dalen de Idololatriâ, ch. 3 to 10; the references in the index to Mosheim's Cudworth; Brucker, Hist. Phil., vol. 2, p. 425, & alibi;

IN Plutarch's Treatise.

I regret that I have not always distinguished my own remarks by brackets. But observe that whatever note is in Latin, or is preceded by a Latin sentence, is extracted literally from Wytttenbach. Where I have abridged any of this critic's sentences, I have used English. Such English notes as include Wytttenbach's name, or as refer to Baxter, are but too evidently my own, and have been sometimes inserted only to equalize the pages.

p. 10, note 5, *read*: opponuntur

p. 10, note 6, lin. ult. *read*: ΔΝΟCΙΟΝ

p. 11, note 1, lin. penult., *read*: Judæus

p. 12, note 4, line 2, *read*: CΠΛΑΓΧΝΑ

p. 13, line 8, transpose the comma from after the first *and* to after the second *and*.

- p. 16, line 7, with: *ἐστὶ* begin a fresh paragraph.
- p. 18, line 15, *read*: *ταρακτικόν*
- p. 19, ch. 5, line 3, *read*: one's eyes
- p. 21, end of 1st. paragraph, *read*: pieces
- p. 30, note 7, from: I should, to the end of the note, efface as contemptible; the more so, as the word *νωδῶν* would mean: "of those who have no teeth".
- p. 34, note 10, line 2, *read*: frequenter
- p. 36, line 1, *read*: *πυθαγοροῦ*
- p. 37, lin. penult. *for*: to write to, *read*: [to invite]
- p. 38, line 1, *read*: *ἐλθῆς*
- p. 38, note 3, line 7, *for*: it, *read*: my attempt at a version
- p. 43, line 16, *for*: then, *read*: than
- p. 44, line 19, *add* (as a note to the word *καταγελαστά*): *conf. de Iside, p. 378, D; ch. 68, 69, : 'οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἀτολοῖς γελοῖα δρῶσιν ἐν ταῖς πόμπαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς, εὐφημίαν προκηρύττοντες; εἰτα περὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν τὰ δύσφημοτάτα καὶ λερόντες καὶ διανοοῦμενοι. πῶς οὖν χρηστὸν ἐστὶ ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς καὶ ἀγελαστοῖς καὶ πένθοις ὀψιαῖς, εἰ μήτε παραλίπειν τὰ νενομίσμενα καλῶς ἐχει, μήτε φύρειν τὰς περὶ θεῶν δοξὰς, καὶ συνταρᾶν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀτολοῖς?*
- p. 44, note 8, *for*: and of Moloch, *read*: Bacchus, Isis, and Yêhouh.
- p. 46, to note 9, *add*: for the mention of the *γαλαταὶ* in ch. 3, (p. 6), is surely too remote.]
- p. 47, lines 11 & 19, *read*: Carthaginians.
- p. 48, read note 4, *thus*: *conf. "de his qui serò," ch. 6, p. 552, A. For the worship of Moloch, vid. Schedius, ch. 33, p. 595—598. With regard to human sacrifices, see the notes to Minutius Felix, p. 291—293, and Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, art. Melech, p. 402.*
- p. 48, begin the 9th. note *thus*: *Laudat sub Xenophanis nomine aliquoties, de Iside, p. 379, B; Amator. p. 763, C. Aristoteles ---*
- p. 49, to the end of ch. XIII, *add* (as a note): *conf. Clem. Alex., cohört. p. 21, with Potter's note.*
- p. 49, in note 9, after: *ἐκοσμήσα*". *add*: *Et quod Aristoteles Xenophanem Elæatis de Leucotheâ, idem de eâdem Thebanis Lycurgum respondisse scribit auctor Apophth. Laconicorum, p. 228, D & E. [But there Wyttenbach says "non videtur Lycurgi"]].*

- p. 50, line 3, to the word ἀθεοτῆτα, *add* (as a note): *conf. de Iside*, p. 378, A; *ch. 57*: ἐνιοὶ -- ἀποσφάλλοντες πανταπάσιν εἰς δεισιδαίμονιαν ὥλιθον ἰ' οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ὥσπερ ἑλὸς τὴν δεισιδαίμονιαν, ἐλαβὼν ἀγῶις ὥσπερ εἰς κρημνον ἐμπέσοντες τὴν ἀθεοτῆτα.
- p. 50, to the end of note 1, *add*: [Clem. Alex., in his cohortatio, says: ἀκροτήτες ἀρὰ ἀμαθείας ἀθεοῦ καὶ δεισιδαίμονια (p. 21); and, at p. 74, he says: ἀπολλύει δεισιδαίμονια καὶ σῶζει θεοσεβεία].

IN the observations on Theophrastus.

- p. vii, *insert* (as a note to the end of the 2nd. paragraph): I had forgotten that Gale's "Opuscula" contain the Characters of Theophrastus. Moreover there is a translation of the following chapter in van Dalen "de Divinationibus", p. 366, 367; and in Buddeus "Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione", p. 549.
- p. 4, lin. ult. *read*: εἶναι, [or
- p. 12, after line 22, *insert* (as a note to the word ἀνοτροπαιεῖς in p. 4, line 2.): [Wyttenbach (not in Plutar. VII. sapientt. conviv. p. 149, D) says we ought to read ἀνοτροπαιοίς.]
- p. 15, read the two last lines of note (29) *thus*: --- p. 280, C.), vit. Romul. (T. 1, p. 31, D.)." *Casaub.* [conf. Potter's Antiq. vol. 1, p. 263.].

IN the first Appendix.

- p. 2, line 2, to the word: tricks, *add* (as a note): *Campanella* has been accused of saying, that Nimrod, Abraham, Moses, David, and Christ, as also Minos, Numa, Mahomet, and other legislators, used artifice to inspire the vulgar with awe (*vid. Branchedor. ap. Brucker, H. Ph., vol. 5, p. 115*).
- p. 2, line 10, to the word: Zathraustes, *add* (as a note): *Fabricius* (who tells us, in his B. Gr., vol. 1, p. 550, that some MSS. read "the Ariani" instead of "the Arismaspians") seems to know nothing more about Zathraustes. *Volney* (*New Researches*, p. 263) appears to conjecture that Zathraustes may possibly be the same as Zoroaster.
- p. 2, at the end of note 5, *add*: *Clemens Alex.* says:—ἐνεῖσι μοι θαῦμαζειν, τίς ποτε φαντασιαὶς ἀπαχθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι πεπλανημένοι, δεισιδαίμονιαν ἀνθρώποις καθιγείλαν, δαίμονας ἀληθριοὺς νομοθετοῦντες σεβεῖν; εἴτε φορῶνεύς ἐκεῖνος ἦν, εἴτε μεροψ, εἴτε ἄλλος τις, οἱ νῶς καὶ βωμοὺς ἀνέσ-
-τησαν αὐτοῖς; πρὸς δὲ καὶ θύσιας παραστήσαι πρῶτοι μεμαε-

-ΕΥΝΤΑΙ : ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ ὙΣΤΕΡΟΝ , ΑΝΕΠΛΑΤΤΟΝ
ΘΕΟΥΣ , ὍΙΣ ἨΡΟΚΥΝΟΙΕΝ . Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 38, and
see Potter's notes.

- p. 4, line 16, to the word : metum, *add* (as a note): *Seneca* (Quæst. Natural. B. 2, ch. 42, quoted by Mosh. ad Cudw. vol. 2, p. 74) says : "ad coërcendos animos imperitorum sapientissimi viri judi-
-caverunt inevitabilem metum, ut supra nos aliquid timeremus".
- p. 7, line 8, to the word : people, *add* (as a note): A modern itine-
-rant arch-hypocrite, Jean *Labadie*, also maintained that God
occasionally deceives. (vid. Niceron, Mémoires, tom. 18, p. 396).
- p. 7, note 8, line 16, *read*: temerariam.
- p. 9, note 3, line 5, after : 58, *add*: & Brucker, vol. 3, p. 374. Com-
-pare the opinion of Pythagoras, infr. App. 3, p. 2, and of the
Pythagorean Sextus, *ibid.* p. 9).
- p. 14, line 1, to: Leo X, *add* (as a note): Others attribute to Boniface
VIII. this famous sentiment, which, *thô* it may have been *thought*
by most of the popes, was probably not openly *spoken* by any of
them (vid. Voltaire, Ess. sur les Mœurs, tom. 2, p. 244).
- p. 14, line 18, after: "Hare", *add* (as a note): Dr. Hare, when only
a Dean, made a blunder with regard to one of Mr. Toland's
works, which occasioned the publication of a pamphlet entitled
"A short Essay upon Lying" [probably in 1720]. The Bibli-
-otheca Britannica nowhere mentions this treatise; but, in vol. 4,
we find references to the following works. The Rev. Henry Ma-
-son, in 1624 & 1634, wrote "the New Art of Lying, covered by
Jesuites under the vaile of Equivocation". In 1757 there was
published anonymously "an Essay on Political Lying," which was
replied to anonymously in the same year. In 1762 was published
"The Progress of Lying, a Satire." I never saw any of these
tracts; but I dare say they merit to be re-edited, and enlarged.
An epigraph for them might be taken from the greatest of poets :
"Praised be all liars and all lies——"
- p. 15, line 23, after "Temple", *add* (as a note): Sir William Drum-
-mond, in the preface to his *Œdipus Judaïcus*, says: "These
are opinions which I have no wish of promulgating to the mob."
- p. 15, line 24, to the word : aristocrats, *add* (as a note): Their love
of deceiving the vulgar is, no doubt, fully developed, in the two
following pamphlets: "A Catechism for the Swinish Multitude,
by the late Professor Porson"; and "Politics for the People,
or Hog's wash"; published by Daniel Isaac Eaton. In an equal-

- ly ludicrous style, but with very liberticide intentions, Mr. Canning wrote his "Knife-grinder", a political squib, which shews, too well, the impossibility of arguing with grown-up ignorance.
- p. 15, line 26, to the word: politics, *add* (as a note): Condorcet (in his *Tableau de l'esprit humain*, p. 182, Paris, 1822, 12mo.) has dared to say of our constitution [which is the envy of surrounding nations, &c. &c.] that it "has no support but national superstition and political hypocrisy".
- p. 17, after: postulat - - ", *add*: Even *Christianus Thomasius* said: "Wise men improve the silly, by taking advantage of the fears which the silly feel towards imaginary powers." vid. Brucker, vol. 5, p. 515, No. 102.
- p. 18, line 12 & 13, *read*: philosophique
- p. 18, line 4, after the word: him, *add*: But unfortunately for his orthodoxy, he very often argues otherwise, as in his "*Reflexions pour les sots*" (*Mélanges littéraires*, tom. 1, p. 48.). His Turkish proclamation, against printing, (*œuvr.* tom. 40, p. 67—70,) reveals one of the grand secrets of universal priesthood.
- p. 19, line 17, *read*: instances
- p. 20, line 1, *read*: procession
- p. 20, line 24, *after*: of it, *add* (as a note): vid. *Syst. de la Nature*, tom. 3, p. 276—278. The argument is best replied to, at p. 308, note, *ad fin.*
- p. 21, note 3, lin. ult. *read*: instinct.

IN the second Appendix.

- p. 1, note 3, lin. ult., *add*: The cause of the above-mentioned apparent digression is explained on reading the title of Kortholt's "*de atheismo*", as published separately in 1689, i. e. nine years before the publication of the entire "*Paganus obtrectator*". vid. *Walch. Biblioth. Patristica*, p. 425; where we read that Adamus Rechenbergius also wrote a treatise "*de atheismo christianis olim à gentibus objecto*".
- p. 8, line 17, after: 8vo., *add* (as a note): conf. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, ch. 73, tom. 2, p. 300, note. See also Hume's *Essays*, vol. 2, p. 130; thò, in vol. 1, p. 500, note C, we read: "It is a vulgar error to imagine that the ancients were as great friends to toleration as the English or Dutch are at present".
- p. 9, line 22, *read*: Hegesippus

- p. 11, line 27, *for*: the poets, *read*: some other French poets—
- p. 12, note 7, after the word: effect), *insert*: Euripides (ap. Plutar. de Stoicc. repugnantt. p. 1049, F) had said, 2000 years before them: “ΤΟ ΠΑΙCΤΟΝ ΕΙΠΑΣ ΑΙΤΙΑCΑCΘΑΙ ΘΕΟΥC”.
- p. 14, line 22, (& in App. 4, p. 20, note *) *read*: Maréchal
- p. 15, line 8, *read*: the imperious Bossuet
- p. 16, to the end of note 8, *add*: Moreover, J.-J. Zimmerman^(who died in 1756) drew up a very long “apologia doctorum virorum atheismi accusatorum”; but only a small part has been printed, and the remainder seems lost. vid. Brucker, H. Ph., vol. 5, p. 547, note i; & vol. 6, p. 904, 905.
- p. 17, note 10, line 3, *after*: extinct, *add*: Giacomo Berengario had, not long before, been banished from Bologna, on a similar accusation. (vid. Biogr. Univers. tom. 4, p. 236, 237.)
- p. 18, at the end of note 5, *add*: Voltaire (œuvr., tom. 12, p. 9,) says of *Volf*:
 “Toi qui prouvas un Dieu, mais qu'on nommait athée.”
- p. 19, *after*: “word”, *add* (as a separate paragraph): *Epicurus* (ad Menœc. vid. Diog. Laert. B. 10, ch. 123,) says: ΑCΕCΘΗC ΟΥΧ 'Ο ΤΟΥC ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΟΥC ΑΝΑΙΡΩΝ, ΑΛΛ 'Ο ΤΑC ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΔΟΞΑC ΘΕΟΙC ΠΡΟCΑΝΤΩΝ—a sentiment which seems to please most parties: vid. Brucker, H. Ph., vol. 1, p. 1292; & the Syst. de la Nat. tom. 4, p. 127. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the definition given by *Apollonius* Tyanæus (ap. Philostr. ep. 17, quoted by Brucker, vol. 2, p. 152): “Qui non magus, ille atheus.” The philosophical Emperor *Antoninus* distinguishes various sorts of impiety, *Meditatt.* B. IX, ch. 1. Cudworth (vol. 1, p. 180) distinguishes four species of atheism among the ancients: 1. the hylopathic, or Anaximandrine; 2. the atomic, or Democritean; 3. the cosmoplastic, or Stoical; & 4. the hylozoic, or Stratonian.
- p. 19, to note 9, *add*: But a more precise account of non-atheists is given, section 2, note 28; œuvr. tom. 3, p. 235, 236.

In the third Appendix.

- p. 8, to note 4, *add*: The question is disputed at great length between Cudworth and his annotator Mosheim (syst. intell. vol. 1, p. 298—305, & 323). Proclus (ap. Cudw. p. 309) says, that, according to Plutarchus Chæronensis and Atticus [the Platonist, vid. p. 273, note] matter had existed [from all eternity] animated by an inor-

-dinate soul. Stobæus (vid. Mosh. p. 311, note) seems to say that Atticus and Plutarchus considered harmony to be occasioned by the two opposite principles.

- p. 9, note 8, *read*: - - - and index, art. Deus. Cudworth (who attributes the miracles of this sophist to the Devil) is probably wrong in thinking that the Deity of Apollonius was of a very superior kind. (Syst. Intell. vol. 1, p. 396, 397).
- p. 10, *after*: ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ, *add*: Ælius Aristides, who also flourished under Hadrianus, gives a magnificent description of Jupiter (vid. Cudworth, vol. 1, p. 679), in which he says that Jupiter first made himself. Lactantius (B. 1, ch. 7, conf. B. 2, ch. 8,) seems to say the same of the christian deity (vid. Cudw. vol. 1, p. 622, 623). *Iamblichus*, relating the theology of the Egyptians (de Mysteriis, B. 8, ch. 2), speaks magnificently of the God who was before the first God. The Emperor *Julianus* maintained that he had more magnificent ideas of the supreme deity than Moses had (vid. Cudworth, vol. 1, p. 404).
- p. 10, place note 10, above note 1; and *read*; - - - 490; Cudworth, vol. 1, p. 681; & Lardner's works, vol. 4, p. 352.
- p. 12, begin the 3rd. paragraph, *thus*: Albeit, *Varro* (as we are told by St. Augustinus, de consensu evangelist., vid. not. ad Minut. Fel., p. 145) considered Jupiter as the God of the Jews: "nihil interesse censens quo nomine nuncupetur, dum eadem res intelligatur." *Aristæus* (ap. Joseph., vid. Cudworth, vol. 1, p. 714) calls Jehovah ΖΗΝΑ . . . ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ . . . ΖΗΝΗ. In Plutarch's Symposiaca (at the mutilated end of the 4th. B.) it is argued that Bacchus is the Jewish God. But *Lucanus* - - -
- p. 12, to the end of note 7, *add*: Josephus (contr. Apion. B. 2, ch. 15, vid. Cudworth, vol. 1. p. 723) says of [the Hebrew] god: ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ἩΜΙΝ ΓΝΩΡΙΜΟΝ, ΟΠΟΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΤ' ΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ.
- p. 13, at the end of note 8, *add*: But in Mosheim (ad Cudworth. vol. 1, p. 257, conf. p. 731) Jablonski is blamed for thus taking a local for a national Deity. Albeit, Brucker (vol. 6, p. 134, & 143) says Jablonski has sufficiently proved that Cneph, or Cnuph, was the same as Vulcanus, and the good spirit, creator of the world.
- p. 13, line 20, to the word: Deity, *add* (as a note): Yet Simplicius (in Aristot. vid. Cudworth, Syst. Intell., vol. 1, p. 467) says, that Moses borrowed his ideas of the creation of the world ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ.

- p. 15, note 1, line 8, *after*: spherical form to the deity, *insert*: Selden (de Diis, p. 223) would derive *Helagabal* from *Aghol-Baal*, i. e. *dominus rotundus*. Afterwards (p. 226), Selden refers to Aristoteles, de Zenone & Gorgiâ, for the circularity of the deity. It seems - - -
- p. 15, note 1, line 16, *after*: circumference no where, *insert*: Huet (Alnet. Quæst. p. 105) says, that this definition is attributed to Empedocles. Voltaire (dict. philos. tom. 3, p. 91) says, that Plato adopted it from Timæus Locrensis: and that it has been inserted by Pascal in the materials now called his "Thoughts".
- p. 16, at the end of the second paragraph, *add*: Brucker (H. Ph. vol. 5, p. 835, 836) gives a more precise account of the primary deity of India: "The supreme being is called *Barabara Vâstou*, or *the being of beings*. He is a seed without a seed, an infinite wisdom, and a light of spirit. He is without blemish. He has an eye in his forehead. He is just, but immoveable and immutable. - - - He lies concealed in an infinite and profound ocean. - - - He cannot be adored, because incomprehensible; we ought therefore to adore the minor deities - - -". Brucker refers this theology to the system of emanations.
- p. 17, line 23, to the word: deity, *add* (as a note): But in the anonymous epistle to the Hebrews, we read (XII, 29): 'ο θεος ἡμῶν κύριος καταναλκικόν. And such evidently was the God of the Iudæans. vid. pentateuch. B. 5, ch. IV, v. 24, & IX, 3.; Isai. X, 17.
- p. 18, line 8, to the word: Theology, *add* (as a note): Perhaps some christians think of the universal Deity, as the ancient Romans did of their own tutelary god, — το ἀρρητον και το αγνωστον ασφαλεστατην ειναι θεου και βεβαιοτατην φρογραν. vid. Plutar., Quæst. Rom., ch. 61, p. 279, A.
- p. 19, note 8, *after*: Mayer - - - 8vo. *add*: Moreover, Barbier (Dict. des Anon., tom. 1, p. 359, No. 2926) mentions a "Histoire du diable, traduite de l'anglais (de Schwindenius; par Bion). Amsterdam, 1729, 2 vol. in-12."
- p. 20, note 1, line 5, *read*: "Perquiramus et nos contra, cur et vos - - -". B. 2, ch. 76, p. 105. Elsewhere (B. 1, ch. 75) Arnobius says: "Falsa de Christo compingimus; et vos de Diis vestris - - -. Falsitatis arguitis res nostras; et nos - - -."
- p. 21, *insert* (as a second & third paragraph):
The author of the *Clementine Homilies* (written in the 2nd. century) introduces St. Peter, as arguing, that God is all things; that

he has a form and figure; that he has all [our] limbs or parts, but not as wanting them; that he is, in space vacuity or nothing, as the Sun is in the air; & that he is the heart [of the universe], pouring forth, from himself as from a centre, the vital and incorporeal power. The author afterwards seems to consider God as the interior of the cubical universe (Homil. XVII, p. 722—724, Coteler.)

St. *Melito*, bishop of Sardis about A. D. 175, maintained, as afterwards Tertullianus did, that God is corporeal. (vid. Coteler. p. 428, nott. in Patres Apostolicos).

- p. 22, to the end of note 9, *add*: Observe too, that, according to Photius, *Clemens*, in his hypotypôses, affirmed that matter is eternal. vid. testimonia in Clem. Alex. p. antepenult.
- p. 29, to the end of line 15, *add* (as a note): Perhaps the insertion of these two words "or Nature" may be a fault of the printer's: for it is said, that Meyer, when translating Spinoza's *Ethica* into Latin, used to change the word "Nature" into "God". vid. Le Clerc, ap. Mosheim. ad Cudworth. vol. 1, p. 272, note 1.
- p. 33, line 2, *read*: - - - tom. 3, p. 30), is equally false and disgusting. [but see Nahum, ch. 1, v. 3].
- p. 41, line 3, and under the rule, transpose the notation and the notes.
- p. 50, line 1, *read*: - - - $\in \in C$, place; $\in \in \in$, run; - - -

IN the fourth Appendix.

- p. 11, *add* (as a note to the end of line 26): I know not what is meant by the "vera religio Prudentum," but I suppose it is the religion of statesmen, lawyers, bankers, &c. Other works, which have a similar title to this of Rechenberg's, are "Joh. Petri *Grünnenbergii*, theologi Rostoch., de atheorum religione prudentum;" & "Frid. Ernesti *Kettneri* religio prudentum - - -" (vid. Fabr., B. Gr., vol. 7, p. 118).
- p. 15, at the end of note 5, *add*: Yet he was himself considered as a heretic, and was publicly refused the Sacrament.
- p. 23, line 1, *read*: - - given, at the articles "Atheism", "Atheists", and "God", in that - - -
- p. 24, line 19, *read*: Matthew

To be worked off
this Wednesday, the 21st. of May, 1823.

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